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OF THE

British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843.

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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PREFACE.

The Eleventh Volume of the New Series of the Journal of the British Archæological Association for the year 1905 contains the Inaugural Address and Papers read at the Bath Congress, and some which have been brought forward at the Evening Meetings in London. The thanks of the Association are due to the authors of these Papers, and especially to Mr. C. H. Talbot and Mr. Emmanuel Green, F.S.A., for their assistance in providing adequate illustrations.

Great regret will be felt over the loss which the Association has sustained by the death of Mr. Thomas Blashill, a former Vice-President and Treasurer, who had done so much good work for archæology.

The Congress at Reading proved highly successful, and enabled many members to make the acquaintance of one of the most interesting districts in England. Hearty thanks are due to Mr. Charles E. Keyser, F.S.A., the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., and a large number of ladies and gentlemen of Reading and Berkshire, for hospitality and assistance of the most warm-hearted and strenuous kind.

A revision of the rules of the Association is being considered by a Committee of the Council, and any amendments which they may suggest will come up for confirmation at the Annual General Meeting. The print of the Rules and List of Associates has therefore been withheld, so that such amendments, if any, may be included.

The number of Associates recently elected has been gratifying, but a larger membership is still required; and it is of great importance that our ranks should include many comparatively young members, who will thus be brought into contact with archæologists of experience and reputation, and learn to carry on the traditions of the Association.

British Archaeological Association.

The British Archæological Association was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Hon.-Treasurer, W. de Gray Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 32, Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch" should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the parts of the *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, 5*s*.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5*s*. each, or the single parts at 1*s*. 3*d*. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7*s*. 6*d*. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5*s*. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5*s*.; to the public, 7*s*. 6*d*. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, by the same, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10*s*. 6*d*.; to the public, 15*s*.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1904-1905 are as follows:—1904, Nov. 16; Dec. 14; 1905, Jan. 18; Feb. 15; March 15; April 12; May 3 (Annual General Meeting), 17; June 21.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the Royal Family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesdays in November and December, and in the months from January to June inclusive, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The *Annual General Meeting* of the Association shall be held on the *first* Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose

such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 Canterbury	The Lord A. D. Conyngham, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 Winchester	
1846 Gloucester	
1847 Warwick	
1848 Worcester	
1849 Chester	
1850 Manchester & Lancaster	J. Heywood, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 Derby	Sir Oswald Mosley, Bt., D.C.L.
1852 Newark	The Duke of Newcastle
1853 Rochester	Ralph Bernal, Esq., M.A.
1854 Chepstow	
1855 Isle of Wight	The Earl of Perth and Melfort
1856 Bridgwater and Bath	
1857 Norwich	The Earl of Albemarle, F.S.A.
1858 Salisbury	The Marquess of Ailesbury
1859 Newbury	The Earl of Carnarvon, F.S.A.
1860 Shrewsbury	Beriah Botfield, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 Exeter	Sir Stafford H. Northcote, Bt.
1862 Leicester	John Lee, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 Leeds	Lord Houghton, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864 Ipswich	George Tomline, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 Durham	The Duke of Cleveland
1866 Hastings	The Earl of Chichester
1867 Ludlow	Sir C. H. Rouse Boughton, Bt.
1868 Cirencester	The Earl Bathurst
1869 St. Alban's	The Lord Lytton
1870 Hereford	Chandos Wren Hoskyns, Esq., M.P.
1871 Weymouth	Sir W. Coles Medlicott, Bt., D.C.L.
1872 Wolverhampton	The Earl of Dartmouth
1873 Sheffield	The Duke of Norfolk, E.M.
1874 Bristol	Kirkman D. Hodgson, Esq., M.P.
1875 Evesham	The Marquess of Hertford
1876 Bodmin and Penzance	The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 Llangollen	Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Bart., M.P.
1878 Wisbech	The Earl of Hardwicke
1879 Yarmouth & Norwich	The Lord Waveney, F.R.S.
1880 Devizes	The Earl Nelson
1881 Great Malvern	Lord Alwyne Compton, D.D., Dean of Worcester
1882 Plymouth	The Duke of Somerset, K.G.
1883 Dover	The Earl Granville, K.G.
1884 Tenby	The Bishop of St. David's
1885 Brighton	The Duke of Norfolk, E.M.
1886 Darlington and Bishop Auckland	The Bishop of Durham
1887 Liverpool	Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.
1888 Glasgow	The Marquess of Bute, K.T., LL.D.
1889 Lincoln 1890 Oxford	The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham
1891 York	The Marquess of Ripon, K.G.
1892 Cardiff	The Bishop of Llandaff
1893 Winchester 1894 Manchester	The Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I.
1895 Stoke-on-Trent	The Duke of Sutherland, K.G.
1896 London and Home Counties	Colonel Sir Walter Wilkin.
1897 Conway	The Lord Mostyn.
1898 Peterborough	The Bishop of Peterborough.
1899 Buxton 1900 Leicester	The Marquess of Granby.
1901 Newcastle	Thos. Hodgkin, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1902 Westminster and Home Counties	Lieut.-Colonel Clifford Probyn.
1903 Sheffield 1904 Bath	R. E. Leader, Esq., B.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION, 1904-5.

President.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio.—The Duke of Norfolk, K.G., E.M.; The Duke of Sutherland, K.G.; The Marquess of Ripon, K.G., G.C.S.I.; The Marquess of Granby; The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe; The Earl Nelson; The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Ely, D.D.; The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Peterborough; The Lord Mostyn; Sir Charles H. Rouse Boughton, Bart.; Lieut.-Colonel Clifford Probyn, J.P.; Thomas Hodgkin, Esq., D.D., D.C.L., F.S.A.; Sir Walter Wilkin, K.C.M.G.

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George Patrick, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.,
1, Gresham Buildings, Basinghall Street, E.C.
Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., Litt.D., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.,
The Vicarage, East Rudham, King's Lynn.

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R. H. Forster, Esq., M.A.
Richard Horsfall, Esq.
T. Cann Hughes, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
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C. J. Williams, Esq.
T. Cato Worsfold, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.

Auditors.

Cecil T. Davis, Esq. | R. H. Forster, Esq., M.A.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1905.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter **L** *denotes Life-Members, and* **C**, *Congress Members for the Year.*

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A.,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

L. 1857 AMHERST OF HACKNEY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, F.S.A., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
1904 Adamson, Alexander, Esq., "St. Andrews," Chislehurst.
1904 Albert Museum, The, South Kensington
L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
1902 Andrew, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., Cadster House, Whaley Bridge
1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., The Grange, Farnham, Surrey
1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq.
1904 Astley, Rev. C. T., M.A., Summer Bank, Llandudno, North Wales
1894 Astley, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., Litt. D., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary* and *Editor*, East Rudham, King's Lynn
1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., *Vice-President*,* Downton Hall, Ludlow
1885 Bagster, R., Esq., Paternoster Row, E.C.
1896 Bailey, Thomas J., Esq., Architect (Education), London County Council Education Offices, Victoria Embankment, W C.
1897 Barrett, Frank Ashley, Esq., The Hollies, Masons Hill, Bromley, Kent
1904 Bateman, A. G., Esq., M.B., M.S., L.S.A., 7 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, W.
L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Esq., Torr Grove, Plymouth
1898 Bennett-Goldney, Francis, Esq., Goodnestone Park, near Dover

1879 Bensly, W. T., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Diocesan Registry, Norwich
1899 Bentley, Miss, 10D, Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, N.W.
1904 Bentley, Mrs. Walter, 7B, Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, Marylebone Road, N.W.
1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President* and *Hon. Treasurer*, 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C., and 59 Gunterstone Road, West Kensington, W.
1872 Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
1897 Birts, John A., Esq., Westwood House, Welling, Kent
1903 Blackett, W. E., Esq., Blanchland, McKinley Road, Bournemouth.
L. 1882 Blakiston, The Very Rev. R. Milburn, F.S.A., The Deanery, Hadleigh, Suffolk
1861 Blashill, Thomas, Esq., F.Z.S., *Vice-President*, 29 Tavistock Square, W.C.
1905 Bond, F. Bligh, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol
1904 Bonnard, G. R., Esq., 80 Coleman Street, E.C.
1894 Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., care of Mr. G. E. Stechert, 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL, 1905.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By R. E. LEADER, B.A., President.

(*Read at the Bath Congress, August 8th,* 1904.)

SOME of my predecessors in this chair, especially in the earlier years of the Association's existence, thought it necessary to vindicate the importance of the study of antiquities. And they were well advised. For, remember how inadequate was the recognition of the dignity and utility of archæology when our Association began its career in 1843. At that time it was considered the hobby of a few men of leisure, not the concern of all, or an essential part of liberal culture. There are still some who ask what is the good of investigations like ours; who dismiss them as dry-as-dust idling; who make the enthusiasm of archæologists the subject of half-tolerant, half-contemptuous banter. These fail to recognise that archæology is the handmaid, nay, the basis, of history: the means of realising the conditions of life in the past, the evolution of nations, the development of peoples. The popular conception of history is still, too largely, that it consists

of the dates of the accession of kings and catalogues of battles. Happily, however, a new spirit has been awakened, and men's minds are turned rather to answering such questions as, Whence came we? What were our forefathers? What did they know? What forces went to a nation's making? Through what strains did peoples pass? What impediments did they overcome? What reverses did they endure? What triumphs did they achieve? The archæologist adduces the evidence from which history is written. To him, mere mounds of earth are books, heaps of stones eloquent with sermons. He makes dry bones to live, clothes them with flesh, and breathes into them new life. He reads in them the story of a people's growth, and finds in them the development of the great drama of human existence and progress. It has been well said by one of our Presidents that "as nothing is too high for history to grasp, so nothing which can aid or illustrate her teaching is below her dignity."

These things are now almost truisms, hardly needing enforcement in the truer perspective of to-day. But in this bustling age there may be still utilitarians who think archæological zeal a subject for banter, who make merry over antiquarians' mistakes—for they do sometimes make mistakes — and smile at the eagerness of their controversies. They do not realise, as an expert pores delightedly over some apparently trivial object, that it may furnish the clue to a new train of investigation, some missing link, sought for years, that completes a chain of evidence, or some gleam of light illuminating an obscure point. A newspaper paragraph recording the discovery of radium at Bath may arrest the interest of those who are indifferent to the city's history, and, with its suggestion of potentialities of wealth in the future, obliterate all thoughts of the past which make that future possible. We may occasionally hear the puerile sneer that archæology is but a subtle device for fostering pride, by showing how much better and cleverer than the ancients are the moderns. The contrary is the truth. One of the most marked tendences of the discovery of past civilisations by excavations in Assyria, Egypt, Crete,

Asia Minor, Mexico, and South Africa is the revelation of arts, appliances, and inventions that put the modern explorer to the blush.

The sphere of our Association's activities is Great Britain only, but we claim to have helped to promote the spirit which has made possible many discoveries in other lands. It was a happy thought in the minds of the founders of this Association to establish annual provincial Congresses, and to get into touch, on the spot, with investigators in all parts of the country. The advantages are manifestly reciprocal. It is a privilege to your visitors to be permitted to enter into the traditions and ancient spirit of your locality, and to obtain the knowledge that comes from a personal examination of records and surroundings. On the other hand, there is the chance, haply, of helping in the elucidation of problems, of giving encouragement to archæological research, and of fostering that topographical appreciation which, after all, is the greatest incentive to the study and preservation of the legacies of the past. We certainly get stimulus from you; may we hope to communicate stimulus to you; and by comparing notes, by contrasting the teaching of different localities, to help in collating, systematising, classifying, fitting in scraps of evidence derived from various sources, reviewing conclusions, and guarding against drawing hasty inferences from insufficient data.

And while enjoying sociable intercourse with men of like pursuits, we may fain hope to enlist the attention of some who have not yet realised the importance and charm of the work in which we are engaged.

No one can glance at the contents of the sixty substantial volumes which record our Transactions since 1843 without realising how largely the Association has fulfilled the aspirations of its founders. Not in any sense as a rival to, but as the ally and feeder of the Society of Antiquaries, it has done much, in the words of its original prospectus, "to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments, of the history, manners, customs and arts of our forefathers."

It has made many contributions to archæological know-

ledge. It has printed Papers, illustrated objects and monuments, thrown light on manners, customs, arts, reflecting the mind and culture of the people, their social state, their domestic and public life, their language, their ancestry, their modes of thought, their conduct, their character.

It has done much to save from the ravages of time, and the worse ravages of "improvers" and restorers, ancient monuments and historic buildings. Since our meeting last year at Sheffield, Wincobank, an ancient encampment, has, through the generosity and public spirit of the Duke of Norfolk, been safeguarded against the engulfing tide of city expansion. And if we cannot claim that this is altogether owing to the initiative of the Association, we can at least say that help rendered at what, in cant phrase, is called the psychological moment, had no little influence in achieving the result.

Compare the present knowledge of and attitude towards ecclesiastical architecture with what obtained in 1843, and consider how much has been done to promote a spirit of jealous and reverent conservatism among experts, and to raise a new standard of taste in the public. Much irreparable mischief has been perpetrated in the sixty years, much grievous vandalism has been rampant; but infinitely more would have had to be regretted but for the influence exerted by this and kindred Associations.

More generally, it may be said that the Association has helped to diffuse archæological enthusiasm; has brought new investigators into the field; has aroused a taste for antiquities, and has encouraged the formation of county associations. Antiquarian research is no longer the possession of the few; it is widespread. It has its schools, and its chairs, and its endowments in the Universities. One hears of some rudiments, at least, being taught in elementary schools. There is good reason to hope that before long the University of London will grant a degree in Archæology.

Our Association has held its Congresses in all parts ot the country. Beginning with Canterbury, it has been to almost all the cathedral cities, to many historic towns,

and to others which are the centres of districts full of antiquarian interest. It has not neglected the great manufacturing towns which, as wrapped up in the concerns of business life, need, perhaps more than reposeful places, reminders of the claims of the past. It is forty-eight years since the Association, then young, was in Bath, or, rather Somersetshire, for only two days were spared by a Congress, of which Bridgewater was the headquarters, for this city. I presume that in this may be found, not any want of respect to the antiquities of Bath, but a feeling that your city, rich in its local inquirers, was less in need of missionary effort than many others. At least, I thought so until to-day, notwithstanding the story of the Alderman—which may or may not be well-founded—who is said to have had the heads knocked off the angels on Jacob's Ladder on the west front of the Abbey, because one of the heads had fallen in his august presence. We visited the Abbey church this afternoon, admiring its architectural proportions, but—I hope I am not offending the susceptibilities of any of our Bath friends — one cannot help regretting that even in Bath, with its cultured and educated people, it has been possible to mutilate and deface the beautiful church by cutting its piers for the insertion of vulgar iron girders in the support of an obtrusive organ. As we were successful in Sheffield last year in saving an ancient monument from possible destruction, it would be, I am sure, very gratifying indeed to members of this Association if any words from the presidential chair would help to remove from the Abbey church the disfiguring erection, which must be regarded as an eyesore by the inhabitants of Bath, as it is by architectural purists. Bath has been exceptional, and is still exceptional, not only for the antiquities it possesses, but for the men who have devoted a large part of their lives to the study and elucidation of its antiquities. You have almost a literature of your own relating to Bath archæology. I might, perhaps, mention for the benefit of the Association one or two of the valuable books which you have. There are Warner's *History of Bath*, Wright's *Historic Guide*, Wood's *Description*, Mainwaring's *Annals*, Earle's *Ancient and*

Modern Bath, Davis's *Ancient Landmarks*, Prebendary Scarth's *Notices of Roman Bath*, Peach's *Historic Houses*, *Original Bath Guide*, *New Bath Guide*, *Old Bath Guide*; and treatises on Bath waters by the score. You have the *History of the Bath Stage*, you have your *Municipal Records* (which I am glad to find have been published by Messrs. King and Watts), and Bath has besides the good fortune to possess what many other cities envy, files of those valuable sources of information—newspapers, going far back into the eighteenth century. In the *Transactions* of archæological and other societies are numberless articles relating to the city and its neighbourhood.

The pages of our own *Journal* are enriched with Papers contributed by your learned antiquarians when the Association was here nearly half a century ago. Then Prebendary Scarth discoursed on "Roman Antiquities and Ancient Earthworks;" Dr. Markland dealt more generally with the history and antiquities; Mr. C. E. Davis with the churches, while others added further information on various details. With all this wealth of information at your doors—far more familiar to you than to strangers—we, manifestly, are here as learners: as the the seekers not the dispensers of information. Scattered throughout English literature, in memoirs and gossip, diaries, reminiscences, biographies, and novels are many graphic pictures of the social and fashionable life of Bath. The only justification for attempting to add a few crumbs to the rich repast is, that some records which recently came into my hands have never been published; and though they tell the students of Bath life nothing that is new, they are not perhaps without their value in helping us to realise the doings in your city at the time when Beau Nash had made himself the controller of its destinies, and was, I suppose, at the height of his power. The housekeeper's accounts of the Howards of Worksop Manor contain payments made in connection with visits to Bath by Lady Mary Howard in 1732 and 1733. They show what a costly and elaborate pilgrimage was involved, when a noble family journeyed to take the waters in the fashionable city. Before starting, large provision of gay garments had to be made—French gowns, lace,

and the rest. Remembering the greater value of money at the period, very considerable expenditure is implied in such items as £91 2*s.* 9*d.* for "linnen, lace, etc.;" £42 10*s.* for lace for Lady Fanny Shirley; and £15 for linen for Mr. Southcote. There was paid £4 12*s.* 9*d.* for habit-making and trimming; £4 4*s.* for a pair of lace ruffles; £3 16*s.* for stockings, and so forth. There were twelve horses on the road, costing £6 7*s.* 10*d*; eating on the road, £15 9*s.* 8*d*; servants' drink on the road, £1 8*s.* And, arrived at the destination, expenditure was on the scale of a large establishment. Lodgings were not unreasonably high—£6 or £7 a week; but "caterer's bill, wine and beer included," amounted to £16 or £19 a week; and when, on a second visit, the family took its own servants, the cook's bills were on an equally large scale, with some £80 for six weeks' butlers' bills. From September 19th to December 29th, 1733, there was spent £367 2*s.* 10*d.* For the shops of the Bath tradesmen were alluring—£7 7*s.* for a ring; £1 1*s.* for two canes; £1 11*s.* for a buckle, and £7 7*s.* for an "arcelni" (whatever that may be); with toys for the children, £1 3*s.*, and playthings, £2 1*s.* The apothecary had, of course, to be consulted, with fees to the tune of £14 2*s.* 9*d*; there was £1 "given at going into the bath;" £9 14*s.* for the "pump-room, great rooms, and housemaids;" and there were subscriptions to balls, raffles, collections for the poor. The account-keeper was quite frank: "Lost at cards, £2 12*s.* 6*d.*; lost more, £7 7*s.* 6*d.*"

To narrate these things here is the familiar process of bringing coals to Newcastle, for one feels that what the inhabitants and antiquarians of Bath do not know about their city is not worth knowing.

May I point out, what is perhaps less obvious, that there is a certain undesigned appropriateness in Bath being chosen for our Autumnal Congress, in succession to our last year's visit to Sheffield? For, utterly dissimilar as are the two cities in the part they play in the nation's life, there are certain points of contact between the two of no little interest. The first book of importance printed in Sheffield was a substantial quarto, part of a learned discourse on the "History and Nature of Mineral Waters,"

written by a Sheffield physician, Dr. Thomas Short. If the association thereby established is remote and slight, a far more intimate connection lies in the fact that the two cities have a joint share in the careers of two remarkable men, John Arthur Roebuck and the Rev. Joseph Hunter. Sheffield gave Mr. Hunter to Bath, and Bath gave Mr. Roebuck to Sheffield. Both came of Sheffield families, both married Bath ladies; and Mr. Roebuck, while paternally descended from Sheffield, was, on his mother's side, the great-grandson of a man famous in the musical annals of Bath, Dr. Linley, one of whose beautiful daughters married Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Her sister, becoming the wife of Richard Tickell, was Mr. Roebuck's grandmother. Mr. Roebuck's association with both Bath and Sheffield was, however, in a sphere outside the range of archæological inquiry. When, some years ago, the duty was imposed on me of writing his life, I realised very forcibly that, beneath its air of aristocratic repose, Bath shares with less polished communities those human passions which find vivid expression in times of political stress and strain. With the moving scenes enacted in your city between 1832 and 1836 we are not concerned to night. The name of Mr. Hunter, on the other hand, recalls memories far more germane to our purpose, and in consonance with the studious repose of the pursuit we are met to promote. Abandoning Sheffield trade after he had passed through an apprenticeship, and had qualified as a Freeman of the Cutlers' Company, Mr. Hunter studied theology, and became, in 1809, the minister of Trim Street Chapel, Bath. It was here that he wrote his *History of Hallamshire*, his greater *South Yorkshire*, and his *Hallamshire Glossary*. And while thus entitling himself to the undying gratitude of his native town, his antiquarian zeal was exerted in stimulating archæological inquiry in the city of his adoption. He was one of the founders of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution, and a member of the "Stourhead Circle," a company of gentlemen who met periodically to compare notes on their researches. To him, with others of like mind, may be attributed the fact that Somersetshire is honourably distinguished as an early pioneer in

the formation of those county archæological societies, which it has been part of the privilege of the British Archæological Association to foster. Mr. Hunter was as active with his pen as with his personal influence. In a Paper read before the Literary Institution on "The Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England," he gives a luminous sketch of the early history of Bath. He contributed largely to various publications on such subjects as the antiquities of Bath, and with characteristic accuracy he made a MS. catalogue of Roman inscriptions found here, destined to be very helpful to subsequent inquirers.

Mr. Hunter's investigations and interests were confined within no narrow limits. While still in Bath he published sermons; discussed in a Dissertation the authorship of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; illuminated the *Life of Sir Thomas More* by his great genealogical and topographical knowledge; and edited Ralph Moresby's *Diary and Letters*. His removal to London in the congenial capacity of Assistant to the Commissioners of Public Records marked the beginning of a period of increased literary and antiquarian activity. Besides the numerous books and publications, he left behind a large mass of MSS. happily available to the inquirer. There are few better-thumbed volumes in the British Museum than the *Familiæ Minorum Gentium*, printed by the Harleian Society from the thick folio of pedigrees laboriously compiled by Mr. Hunter. The care and accuracy which characterise his work make him a model for all who follow him; and Somersetshire and Yorkshire are entitled to be jointly proud of so distinguished an archæologist and of so excellent a man. In the venerable Dr. Henry Julian Hunter, his son, still among them, the citizens of Bath retain a living link with one who so usefully employed a quarter of a century spent in their midst. And at Sheffield the present Master Cutler is the third Michael Hunter, who, filling that office, continues the name and the family of the Rev. Joseph Hunter's father.

Mr. Mayor, I am sure the British Archæological Association learns with the greatest interest and satisfaction of the efforts which your municipality is making in

furtherance of the interests of archæology. Since the days to which I have been referring, since the time when our Association was here before, you have, I believe, made many interesting discoveries, not only in connection with the Roman baths, but of other antiquities, and I am told you have a band of indefatigable workers still labouring to reveal more of the past and elucidate its teachings. The action of the Corporation in placing memorial tablets on houses where resided great men of the past is worthy of all praise, as is also Mr. Cotterell's "Bath Historic Map." On your behalf I welcome to the Congress Professor Hamelius, of the Brussels Archæological Association; and, in conclusion, I would again express the thanks of the Association for the welcome which has been given to it.

A View in the Dyffryn Valley.
Showing Ty'n-y-fferm and Gâllt-y-Cwm just above it. The Ffrwdwyllt River on the left.

NOTES

ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY.

By THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., V.D., J.P., M.Inst. C.E.

(*Continued from page* 181, *vol. lix*)

Part II.

Hafodheulog.

I MUST now take you to where the sun is stronger, by reason of our having lingered so long at Hafod, and we come to the sunny summer abode, for that is the meaning of Hafodheulog: *hafod*, summer abode; *heulog*, sunny. The first grant of the land of Hafodheulog is found in an imperfect charter (*T.* 289 (2); *C.* DCCXVI) by Kenwreic, son of Herbert, sworn upon the *Sanctuaria* of Margam Abbey Church. Helias, Dean of Newcastle, Bridgend, was one of the witnesses; he occurs at the end of the twelfth century. The next deed referring to Hafodheulog is a quit-claim (*T.* 117; *C.* DCLXXXIX) by Philip, the priest of Havod-haloc, and John his nephew, to Margam Abbey, of the chapel of Havodhaloc. This deed was ratified in the presence of Nicholas, treasurer of Llandaff Cathedral; Ivor, canon; Adam, priest; Robert Samsonis.[1] This was confirmed by Bishop Henry[2] to Margam, by deed addressed to the clergy and laity of the diocese, and enrolled (*T.* 543, 10; *C.* MCCCCXXVII), assuring the land of Haudhaloc and Rossaulin (Resolven, Vale of Neath) and their respective chapels, with anathema against those who resist. Half a mile to the north, a

[1] Cf. *Harley Charters* 75A., A.D. 1217.

[2] A.D. 1196 to 1218.

little east of north, are marked on the Ordnance Map the remains of Capel Trisant, Church or Chapel of the Three Saints. This chapel, it seems to me, was the chapel of Hafodheulog, on the lands of the Grange, but a little way off for the convenience of other granges or farms near by.

Three Bulls were issued by Pope Innocent III, in A.D. 1203 (*T.* 82; *C.* DCCXLV), directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first pointing out the frequency of injuries done and the daily failure of justice due to the Abbot and Brethren of Margam, and detailing the various modes of punishment to the wrongdoers. The leaden Bulla of the Pope is appended by strands of green and yellow silk. It is endorsed "Innocentius III^us^. Non absque dolore De Margan;" and in a later hand, "A prohibition to wronge the Howse of Morgan," dated at Anagni, Nov. 10th, A.D. 1203. The second (*T.* 84; *C.* DCCXLVI) followed the above Bull in a few days, directed as before, and confirming the apostolic privileges of Margam Abbey, granted by his predecessors in respect to exemption from payment of tithes, of the labours performed by the hands or acquired by the money of the Abbey, or the food of their beasts, and forbidding any infringement thereof by some who interpret as relating to crops what is written of labours, under penalty of excommunication; and further, he who lays violent hands on any of the brethren is to be publicly excommunicated *accensis candelis*, with lighted candles, until he makes proper satisfaction, and presents himself before the Pope with letters of the Bishop of the diocese in explanation of the truth of the matter.[1] Dated at Anagni, 20 Nov., A.D. 1203.

The third Bull (*T.* 83; *C.* DCCXLVII) is addressed to Gilbert, Abbot of Margam, and takes the Abbey of St. Mary under the protection of St. Peter and his own, enjoining their perpetual possession of the goods and property of the Abbey. Then follows a list of all the lands, and in the list we find the land of Havedhaloc, with all its appurtenances. After that follow sundry privileges and injunctions. A charter of King John confirms the various grants made to the Abbey, and one is

[1] Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey.*

the grant of Morgan, son of Oein, in Havedhaloch, between Kenefeg and Baithan, that is, land to the east and north-east of the Kenfig River and west of the River Baiden.[1]

The grant by Morgan, son of Oein or Owen (*T.* 120; *C.* DCCLIII) cannot be earlier than A.D. 1214, and is of the whole land of Havedhalok, between the waters of Kenefeg and Baithan, towards the mountains to the cross near the highway, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings, with undertaking of the grantor to perform certain services. Pledged and sworn on the *Sacrosancta* of Margam Church. One of the witnesses is D. Gervase, Bishop of St. David's."[2]

T. 122 (*C.* DCCCCLXIII) seems to have been found necessary as a pendant to the deed above mentioned. It is a quit-claim by Madok, son of Resus, to Margam Abbey, of the land of Heved-Halok, in accordance with the terms of Morgan ab Oweyn's charter. And he will be faithful to the House of Margam, and will defend its property and cattle as if they were his own; this he swears on the *Sanctuaria* of Margam; given under the seal of Morgan ab Oweyn, because he has no seal. The witnesses are Morgan, son of Owein; Maurice, priest of St. Cadoć; Maurice, parson of St. Julita, and others. Morgan ab Owein's seal, an ornamental fleur-de-lis :—[3]

✠ S'MORGANI . AB . OEIN.

The buildings at Hafodheulog are all modern, having been built fifty-five years ago. Mrs. David, the tenant's wife, told me that when they were taking the old buildings down they found, under the plaster of ages, carved on the wall the figure of a man: this was in the part used then as a dairy.

Hafod-heulog is prettily situated 500 yards to the west of the Kenfig river. North of it opens out the Kenfig valley, up which, 2½ miles off, is the source of the river, which rises near the Bodvoc stone. The mountains rise rapidly, and half-way to the Bodvoc stone,

[1] Baiden, a little, lively, sparkling brook.

[2] Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, A.D. 1214 to 1229.

[3] Dr. Birch, *Margam Abbey*. In this Deed Owen is spelled Oweyn and Owein.

Moel Ton Mawr rises to a height of 1,000 ft. on the west of the valley. Near the source of the Kenfig river, a line of intrenchments is crossed by the river. It runs from a point west of Moel Ton Mawr,[1] in a north-easterly direction, for almost two miles, having a camp at either end, and a little north and east of the centre of the line is a Roman halting-camp; a mile or so further west-south-west is another camp close to Margam Castle. These intrenchments appear to me to have been constructed to bar the way eastward of a force coming up the Cwm Philip Valley behind the Abbey, or to protect a force coming up the valley from the lowlands on to the high ground towards Bodvoc's grave, from hostile forces attacking it from the east or hill country. South of Hafod-heulog rises a ridge, Cefn Cribwr,[2] or La Rigge[3] in the *Margam MSS.* This ridge runs east and west, and rises to a height of 400 ft above sea level. The ridge is composed of the conglomerates and shales of the millstone grit underlying the coal measures. On the west end of the ridge is a British camp, referred to in a grant of land by Gunnilda, wife of Roger Sturmi, to Margam Abbey, as the old castle—*vetus castellum.* West of Hafod-heulog is what I think must be the part called La Wareth Moor, and it still is in part a moor. La Wareth, so called from Llywarch, son of Meredydd or, as sometimes written, Meruit; we have Gwaun Llywarch at Trisant.

Half a mile south of Hafod-heulog is Pentre,[4] a farm mentioned in the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel. Near by it are the slight traces of the Capel Trisant. There are several houses and farms clustered about this spot: Ty'n-yr-heol,[5] Pen-y-bryn,[6] Nant-y-Neuadd,[7] Troed-y-

[1] Moel Ton Mawr. The Great green-sward Hill; a bald rounded hill, *i.e.*, not wooded.

[2] Cefn Cribwr. Cefn—a ridge; Cribwr probably a corruption of Cribaith—a bold hill ridge, or brink of the bold hill.

[3] La Rigge. A corruption of ridge, probably.

[4] Pentre. A village or hamlet; a corruption of Pentrev.

[5] Ty'n-yr-heol. A house in the road.

[6] Pen-y-bryn. The top of the hill.

[7] Nant-y-neuadd. The dingle or brook of the hall.

rhiw,[1] Cwm Trisant,[2] Pant-ysgawen,[3] Ty Fry,[4] Ton Owen,[5] Trallwyn,[6] Fynon-Iago-fawr,[7] and Fynon-Iago-fach.[8] It seems to me the Capel Trisant may have been the chapel of Hafod-heulog, which, as I have said, is just half a mile south of it. Ffynon-Iago is near Ffynon-Iago-fawr farm, and no doubt is so named after St. James, thus indicating one of the three Saints to whom the chapel was dedicated. Then we have Ton Philip and Cwm Philip in the neighbourhood, also a valley called Cwm Maelwg, so it may be the third saint is St. Maelwg. About a mile west-south-west from Hafod-heulog is the farm Longland, referred to in the *Margam MSS.* This farm is some 400 yards west of the Kenfig river, and is about 120 ft. above sea-level.

The Kenfig valley brings to our notice an interesting case. The Abbot of Margam held all his lands of the County of Cardiff in chief, as is shown by the report of an inquiry at the County Court of Glamorgan (*T.* 389; *C.* MLVII), Monday before St. Lawrence's Day, A.D. 1299, before D. Symon de Raleye, Sheriff of Glamorgan, and the Earl's Council. It sets forth that whereas the Abbot of Margam holds all his lands of Cardiff County in chief, and the "famulus," or clerk, of the said County alone performing the duty of coroner in the Abbot's lands, Traharn Du (Black Traherne), Bedell of Tyriarthe (Tir-Iarll, the Earl's land) had by usurpation held a coroner's inquest on the body of Philip Sparke, who met his death

[1] Troed-y-rhiw. Foot of the steep path or road up the hill.

[2] Cwm Trisant. The Dingle of the Three Saints, probably S.S. Philip. James, and Michael. We obtain two of the names of the Saints from Cwm Philip, and Ton Philip, and Ffynon Iago—St. James's Well. There is Heol Fadog and Nant Fadog—Madoc's road and Madoc's brook or dingle, so the third Saint may be St. Madoc or St. Michael, as we have Llanmihangel – the church of St. Michael—not far away.

[3] Pant-ysgawen. The hollow of the alder tree.

[4] Ty-fry. The house high up on the mountain. Ty—house; and fry—very high.

[5] Ton Owen. Owen's rounded hill, covered with sward, but no trees; probably so called after Owein, father of Morgan, a son or brother of Morgan ap Caradoc, who gave Hafod-heulog to the monks.

[6] Trallwyn. Trallwng is the correct spelling. A quagmire or bog.

[7] and [8]. Ffynon-Iago-fawr and fach. St. James's Well — large and small.

in Cwm Kenefeg, to the prejudice of the liberty of the county, therefore the said Traharn shall be imprisoned.

Abbot William (Corntoun) leased for their lives (*T.* 268 ; *C.* MCCLXXXVII) the reversion of the Grange of Hafodheulog—Havothaloke, as the scribe in the monastery thought it should be spelled—to John ap Thomas ap Richard and Richard ap Thomas ap Richard (probably brothers) after the decease of Thomas ap Richard (the father), as the said Thomas and Richard ap Jevan ap Howell held it, and the reversion of the tithes, the lessees to maintain all buildings, ditches and fences at their own cost. They may build a fulling-mill on the fee of the grange, for which they are to pay a rent of two shillings yearly. Dated in the Chapter House, Margam Monastery, 2 Richard III, A.D. 1484.

The first donor of land belonging to this Grange was Kenewreic, son of Herbert (*T.* 289, 2 ; *C.* DCCXVI), and this land was probably that on the west of the river Kenfig, and on which the Grange buildings stood. The grant by Morgan, son of Owen (*T.* 120 ; *C.* DCCLIII), of the whole land of Havedhalok between the waters of Kenefeg and Baithan, towards the mountains to the cross near the highway, refers to the land east of the Kenfig, between it and the Baiden river. The rent, 20s. annually, with undertaking of the grantor to perform services. Sworn on the *Sanctuaria* of Margam.[1] Among others, this deed is witnessed by D. Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, in whose presence the grant was made, and whose seal is appended : Martin, Archdeacon of St. David's, Master Mathias of Brechen (Brecknock), Master H. D. Cluna (Hugh de Cluna, afterwards Archdeacon of St. David's, 1222), Master William de Capella, Henry de Umframuille ; Reimund de Sulie, William de Sumery, and others.

Dr. Birch says this Morgan was either the son of Owein, brother of Morgan ap Caradoc, or of Owen, son of Morgan ap Caradoc. It was Morgan ap Caradoc who guided Archbishop Baldwin and Giraldus Cambrensis across the marsh of Avan, on their way to Swansea, preaching the

[1] Endorsed : "Carta Morgian filii Owein de Hefedhaloch." This grant was confirmed by King John, A.D. 1205.

crusade, in 1188 A.D. He was descended from Iestyn ap Gwrgan, and was the founder of the family of de Avenes —Dauene = d'Avene ; Lords of Afan.

Owen agreed to reduce the rent of 20*s.* for Hafodheulog, in consequence of the vast amount of damage he had done to the Abbey, to 2*s.* (*T.* 140 ; *C.* DCCCCXXXV), with penalty of excommunication by the Bishop of Llandaff in case of his breaking the agreement, and power to the Earl of Gloucester's bailiffs of Neth (Neath) and Landtrissen (Llantrisant) Castles to enforce performance.

Near Hafod-heulog is a farm named in the *Margam MSS.* Havoth-duga, Havod-y-dyga. It is, no doubt, Hafod-decaf, *the fairest summer abode.* So we have Hafod, *the summer abode;* Hafod-heulog, *the sunny summer abode;* and Hafod-decaf, *the fairest summer abode.*

Llanmihangel, or St. Michael's Grange.

This Grange is situated close to the Kenfig River, in a bend made by the river, which, after running south south-west, turns and runs nearly due north, so that seen from the train the river appears to be running from the sea, as if it were too coy to go straight on to it. The Grange is 50 ft. above datum line, and from it to the sea is two and a-half miles ; about a mile west of the Grange is Fitz-Hamon's Castle, and near by, the site of the ancient town of Kenfig. Leland the antiquary, who visited these parts in A.D. 1540, in his *Itinerary* writes : "From Newton to Kenfike Ryver a vi miles. Of these vi miles 3 be hygh cliffes on the shore, the other low shore and sandy ground. For the Rages of Severn Se casteth ther up much sand . . . . Kenfike is a small Broke and cummith by estimation not past a 3 miles of out of the Mores thereabout." Do not inquire too closely into John Leland's estimated distances, for in truth they are as faulty as is his spelling. I will just give one instance of his distances "by estimation." Kenfig River is about eight miles in length from its source—high up on Margam mountain (1,100 ft. above datum line), quite close to Bodvoc's grave—to the sea, Leland says three miles.

Old Kenfig town had, long before his visit, been overwhelmed with sand, and Leland writes of the new town thus: "There is a little village on the Est side of Kenfik, and a castel, both in ruine and almost shokid and devourid with the sandes that the Severn Se casteth up." Kenfig River being the parish boundary, I must say no more of Kenfig and the Margam Grange there, in this Part, but leave it for another paper, except as to the fishing, which of course is partly in Margam.

Three Papal Bulls are again addressed by Pope Alexander IV, each following closely upon the other in the year AD. 1261: First, to the Abbot of Citeaux and all the Abbots of the Cistercian Order, confirming the privilege that no one may summon them or the persons of their monasteries to synods or foreign assemblies, except in matter of faith, without permission of the Apostolic See (*T.* 173; *C.* DCCCCLXXIX), with leaden Bulla of the Pope, dated Lateran, 9 Jan., A.D. 1261.

The second (*T.* 174: *C.* DCCCCLXXX) is very similar to the above, dated Lateran, 15 Feb., A.D. 1261. The third (*T.* 171; 293, 27; *C.* DCCCCLXXXI) is addressed to the Abbot of Margam, and begins by receiving the Abbey of St. Mary into the protection of St. Peter and his own, and confirms to the Abbey the gifts and grants made to it by various benefactors, and names among the other lands and farms the Grange of St. Michael. The leaden Bulla still remains appended to this charter. Dated, 3 March, A.D. 1261.

There are comparatively few references or deeds relating to St. Michael's Grange, and St. Michael's Mill, near by, on the Kenfig River. The Cistercian Order seldom came into contact with the secular Courts, and one of the few instances in which it was done occurs in connection with St. Michael's Grange.

The proceedings at the Glamorgan County Court, before Gilbert de Ellesfeld, Sheriff of Glamorgan, are recorded (*T.* 229; *C.* MCLXXXII), and whereat Brother John was indicted for robbing David de Gower of fifteenpence at the Borwes (burrows or sand-dunes); and Brother Meuric, of St. Michael's Grange, for giving money and food to John ap Griffith and Rees ap Griffith, felons

and outlaws ; but the accused say they are brethren and *conversi* (lay brethren) of the Abbey of Morgan, and therefore they ought to appear before their own ordinaries ; it is asked of them if they are clerks ordained, and if they know how to read, and a book is given to them, for proof that they declare themselves professed religious, *i.e.*, monks, and are not bound to answer. And thereupon came Master David ap Rees, clerk by virtue of the Bishop of Llandaff's commission, to him, and caused the accused to be delivered to him for trial in an Ecclesiastical Court. But the Sheriff and the said Master David disputed whether the delinquents were professed, and so entitled to their privilege of clergy. Eventually the Sheriff admitted the plea, and made inquest whether they (Brothers John and Meuric) were guilty or not, so as to deliver them up to the said David : they were tried, found not guilty, and released. Cardiff, 26 May, 32 Edw. III, A.D. 1358.

Fine impression of the Seal of Cardiff Chancery, green wax, chipped, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam.

Obverse: an armed knight, with hauberk, sword, helmet, crested with a griffin's head and wings, erect, and shield of arms ; riding to the right on a horse caparisoned with the same arms.

SIGILLUM : EDWARDI : LE : DESPENSER .... AMORGAN :
Z : MORG .

Reverse : a shield of the same arms, slung by the guige, upon a forked tree, within an elaborately-traced bilobe or panel of cusped Gothic openwork.

SIGILLUM : CANCEL (LARIE).....DE : KAIRDIF.

Endorsed : *Inquisicio pro felonicis.*

The rivers Afan and Kenfig were good salmon and sewin rivers—and indeed were until recent years, when works were established in the valleys and spoiled them. There were constant disputes about the fishing, and in A.D. 1365 we find the record of a mandate (*T.* 231 ; *C.* MCLXXXVII) by the Rector of Coytif and the Rural Dean of Gronyth (Groneath), special commissioners to Thomas Louel, Clerk, to cite John Philip of Kenefeg, Rees ap

Griff' Gethyn of Avene (Aberavan), Hoel ap Griff' Hagur, and others, to appear before the commissaries in answer to a charge of unlawful fishing in Kenefeeg is Poil[1] and in the Avene, brought against them by Margam Abbey, on pain of excommunication. Dated, Coytif, 2 Nov., A.D. 1365. They appeared, and the proceedings take the form of a record (*T.* 232; *C.* MCLXXXVIII) of a process before the Dean of Gronyth, in the Church of Kenefeeg, in the case between the Abbot and Rees ap Griff' Gethyn, and others, concerning the taking of fish in the Avene by the said Rees and the others: wherein the said Rees confesses that he took fish in the water and fishery of Avene, and said that he had taken them justly. He was ordered to prove his right on the following Monday at Newcastle Church (Bridgend). John Philpot and the other confess to having fished in the water and fishery of Kenfig and Avene, and are left to the grace and absolution of the Abbot. Eventually, at Kenfig, Rees delivered in his defence that his ancestors had forfeited their jurisdiction in their Courts, and the Abbot exhibited deeds of appropriation, confirmation, and agreement to prove their right. Then Rees admitted that after Robert Fitzhaymon had conquered the hereditary land of him (Rees), and others, with the water and fishery in dispute two hundred and seventeen years past, he, the said Robert, gave the said fishery to Margam Abbey in recompense for injuries it had received at the hands of his (Rees') ancestors. 6 Nov., A.D. 1365.

Subsequently (*T.* 233; *C.* MCXC), at an Assize at Novel-dissein, before a jury of twelve, in the Glamorgan County Court at Cardiff, before Sir Edward de Stratelyng, Knt. (le Esterling), Sheriff of Glamorgan and Morgan, John Abbot of Margam recovers forty shillings damages and his fishery of salmons, gillyngs, suwyngs, and other fish in the water of Avene, from the head thereof to the place where it goes into the sea (the fishery is worth £10 yearly), against Rees, son of Griffin Gethyn, and Howel, son of Griffin Hagur, each of whom

[1] Kenefeeg is Poil in the deed = Kenfig Pool. The pool is not connected with the river, and is surrounded by high ground and sand-dunes, and has no visible outlet.

is fined 3*d.* damages. Monday before Midsummer Day, A.D. 1366.

Some of the land near, and no doubt belonging to the Grange of St. Michael, was given by members of the Gramus family. A somewhat interesting deed in the *Harley Charter*, 75 *C.* 7 (*T.* 289, 40 ; *C.* DCCCCXX), is a quit-claim by Roger Gramus to the monks of Margam, of a rent of half a silver mark yearly rent, due by them to him, paying a yearly recognisance of a pair of white gloves, or 1*d.* at Easter, and to his wife, Agnes, a prebend yearly for her support, viz., she is to have every week seven conventual loaves and five gallons of beer from the Convent ; a crannoc[1] of gruellum (meal), the same amount of beans, and a bushel of salt, once yearly at Michaelmas. Dated, Midsummer Day, A.D. 1245.

St. Michael's Mill lies just to the south of the Grange, on the Margam side of the Kenfig river. The buildings are comparatively new.

In the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, we find included with the site of the late dissolved Abbey, the church, bell-tower, the fishery in the water of the Avene, various granges and lands—"St. Michael's Grange." The sum was £938 6*s.* 8*d.*, a sum equal in our days to over £9,000. All to be held as the last Abbot Lodowicus Thomas held them, for the twentieth part of a knight's fee.

And in the Crown Sale (*T.* 366 ; *C.* MCCCLX) for £678 1*s.* 6*d.*, also to Sir Rice Maunxell, Knight, we find included with various manors and lands, "Seynt Mychaelles Mille, in the parish of Margam." The sum paid is equal to £6,700 in our days.

The Great Seal of King Henry VIII, in bronze-green wax, is still appended to the documents, by green and white silk strands. The first document is dated 22 June, 32 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1540.

T. 227 ; *C.* MCLXVIII. This a quit-claim by William de Marle to Margam Abbey, of pasture for oxen, cows, and other beasts in the Grange of Saint Michaele, which "ex quadam animi levitate" he had once claimed, as if he had

[1] Cranock—10 bushels.

any right therein; he is, however, "now moved by the spirit of truth," "noveritis me spiritu ductum veritatis."

Margam, Midsummer Day, A.D. 1344.

Llanmihangel. The "mi-hangel" stands for Mich-angel, like the French Michel Ange. Haf Bach Mihangel corresponds to St. Luke's Little Summer, October 18th. The festival is Gwyl Fihangel; note the mutation so frequent in Welsh, "m" into "f." St. Michael's Mill was let to tenants. An extract from the Court of Abbot John at Kenfig (*T.* 284: *C.* MCCCXXVIII), whereby Thomas ap David ap Hoell, John ap Thomas, David ap Hoell, and John ap John, his son, are admitted tenants in the water-mill called "Seynt Mizchell is Mylle," rent, 40*s.*, and court suit, two capons or 4*d.* for entry. Before Sir Mathew Cradock, Knight, Steward, 15th October, A.D. 1527.

It is much to be regretted that no record of any kind has been kept of the old Granges' buildings; all have been rebuilt except part of the Court farm and the new Grange (in ruins), and Theodoric's Grange (in ruins). At Hafod, I found a part of a window-jamb in Sutton stone —the stone used so much by mediæval builders in these parts. It is soft when freshly quarried, and hardens by time, and is a nice creamy white in colour A former tenant of Hafod informed me of a stone which is there, and which has a hole through it; he believed, he said to me, it was used for some devilish practices of the Catholics! It is, no doubt, the stone which was attached to the piscina—a drain-pipe.

I was surprised to see, so far from the Abbey ruins, or quarry, as it was for years, at Farteg farm, north of Hafod, many dressed Sutton stones in its walls. It occurred to me they never would cart these stones from the Abbey so many miles, and up such steep roads, and that they must have been brought from the chapel of Hafod when it was demolished.

There are two ways of reaching the sleepy hollow in which lies this Grange with its noble barn: a barn so high and long that one thinks, a little way off, it is the nave of a church. One way is from the turnpike road at

Pyle, turning off at right angles, and where you come to a round-headed stone inscribed with a cross of equal arms, 12 or 13 ins. long[1]—it now marks the Parliamentary boundary—you turn off into a narrow lane, and pass through the mill-yard (St. Michael's Mill), and on again through a lane, and, as I say, the first sight of the great high barn strikes you as being a church. "Hen ysgubor" it is called—"the old barn." The tenant told me it had been a tithe-barn. The other is along the Roman road, and across the sands, but it is a terribly bad one.

The barn is on higher ground than the house itself. It is 109 ft. in length, 31 ft. in width, and 18 ft. 6 in. in height to the eaves. The whole barn inside is plastered to the ceiling; the openings for air and light are widely splayed inwards, with dressed Quarella stone-work, shaped to the splay, similar to those in the centre dormer window of the Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage.[2] Two great doorways open opposite each other in the centre of the building, and these are spurred at each side. The whole building has the lower part of the side walls spurred out towards the base; the only other building I know of in Margam having this strengthening at the base is the New Grange, now known as the Old Pine End—"Hen Biniwn." The barn was covered with tile-stones, but the roof fell in recently, the weight, coupled with the rotting of the timber-work, probably caused the collapse.

The farmhouse is interesting, and, so far as I can judge, may well be of late Abbey times.[1] The ceiling and bedroom floors are supported on massive oak beams. Each window has a square label, which is hollowed; the jambs and mullions are stone.[3] The large boiler in the yard is in a peculiar recess in the kitchen wall. This recess has jambs in stone, in section, the same as the window-jambs and mullions. The walls are also spurred at the base, similarly to the barn.

[1] This cross is known locally as Groes Siencyn. I have not been able to find any record of it.

[2] See plan of building and details in "The Hermitage of Theodoric and Site of Pendar," *Arch. Camb.*, April, 1903.

[3] Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite writes me that the date of the window at St. Michael's may be *circa* A.D. 1600 . . . "It is not safe to give an opinion from a drawing of one example, without knowledge of the work of the neighbourhood."

The Grange of St. Michael stands only at a level of 50 ft. above the sea, and nearly all round it are hills of 100 ft. high, which nestle close about it; so it is no wonder the river, which runs close to the house, had difficulty in finding its way safe to sea, and turns and twists so. As I said before, anyone standing and looking at the Kenfig (Cenfig it should be, as "k" was never born in Welsh), and knowing on which hand lay the Severn Sea would think the river had turned from its saltness, and was going again towards the hills whence it had but just come. So hot is this sleepy hollow in the sultry summer days, that the dairy has to be covered with turf, and is now a bright green patch of grass.

The Kenfig soon relents and turns again to sea—the sea where "Hafren" and her mother were drowned. In Geoffrey of Monmouth we read that Locrinus, son of Brutus, divided the land of Britain between his brother Camber and Albanactus and himself, and destroyed Humber, King of the Huns. He found in a ship belonging to Humber three ladies of celestial beauty. One was Essyllt, who became his queen, and gave her name to the land of Wye and Usk, and the other Hafren, who gave her name to the Severn Sea, and the Welsh keep it so to-day.

The "big barn" lies true north and south, and the front of the farm faces south.

In the South Pine end of the barn are two rows of pigeon-holes, with ledges above the holes. The holes do not pass through the wall. On the North Pine End of the farmhouse are exactly similar pigeon-holes. The house is about 85 ft. in length, and is nearly true north and south in position.

Eglwysnunyd.

We find no mention of this Grange in the Margam Abbey deeds until the end had come. In the Crown Sale (*T.* 362; *C.* MCCCLI) to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, for £642 9*s.* 8*d.*—a sum equal in our days to £6,400—of the Manors of Horgrove and Pylle (Pyle), and various lands and granges, we find mentioned Egloose Nunney. In the same deed it is also spelled Egloyse Nunny. The

sum of £642 9*s.* 8*d.* was later reduced to £300 by the King in A.D. 1544.

Writing about a sculptured stone at this farm, Professor Westwood calls it "the cross of the Nunnery Farm." On the Ordnance Map the farm is called Eglwysnunyd[1]—"on site of Nunnery." It was never a nunnery, and how it came to be so called I never could make out. It is simply one of the Abbey Granges, with its chapel dedicated to St. Non, or Nonnita, the mother of St. David. Probably "nynyd" is the Welsh adaptation of Non, or Nonnita, or Nonna—Eglwys St. Nunyd—the church of St. Non. Breton legends state that the miracle play of St. Nonna was performed at Dirinon, a parish in Brittany (Baring Gould's *Welsh Saints*, pp. 189, 190, and *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Ser., vol. iii, p. 256).

Eglwysnunyd is pleasantly situated on the old Roman road — the *Via Julia Maritima* — and at a level of about 65 ft. above Ordnance datum. The old Roman road is now known as Water Street. Two hundred yards south of the farm is the Roman miliary stone, bearing the inscription—

PVMPEIVS
CARANTORIVS

in debased Latin capitals.

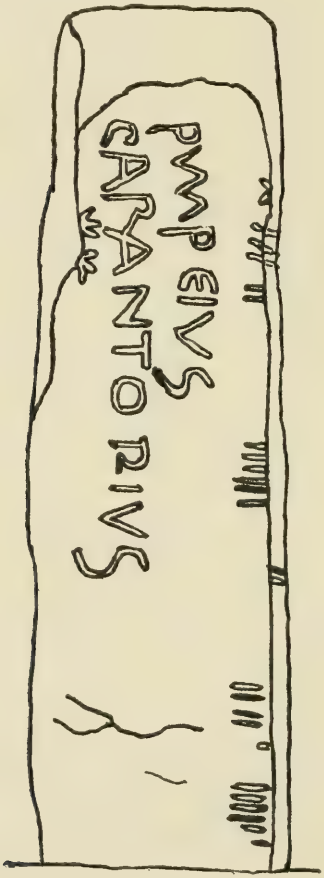
Professor Westwood says it bears locally the name "Bedd Morgan Morganwg"—the "Sepulchre of Prince Morgan." The stone has also Ogam characters marked on it, as will be observed (see over).

Eglwysnunyd was formerly a Gothic building, with narrow lancet windows, but entirely rebuilt. A little only remains of the original structure. From one of the rooms a flight of steps leads to a deep vault or archway, now bricked up, and tradition has it that this was one entrance to a subterranean passage which led to Margam Abbey. I am unable to say if there is any truth in the tradition, but my friend Mr. W. S. Powell, who formerly lived there, told me he had seen the entrance of this passage at the bottom of the steps, but how far it

[1] In the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel it is called Egloose Nunney, and this phonetic spelling gives us the right name. There is a chapel called Capel Nonny in Cardiganshire, and one near St. Davids, Capel Nunny, both dedicated to St. Non.

extended he did not know. This farm is one of the best in the estate of Margam.

Eglwysnunyd stands on the edge of an irregular ridge, (varying from 50 to 300 ft. above sea-level. From the 300 ft. level the mountains rise quickly to 600 ft., and



Pumpeius Carantorius Stone,
near Eglwysnunyd.

then, but not so abruptly, to 1,000 ft. altitude), between Margam mountains and the sea. From the land the ridge slopes to the large plain called Morfa Mawr, which has a level varying from 12 ft. to 21 ft. above sea-level, most of which, as I have before remarked, was in Abbey times covered with the tide, especially at high springs. From

Eglwysnunyd a fine view is obtained of the plain below, fringed with the sand-dunes, and the glittering sea beyond. The whole of the four miles of piled-up sand-hills can be seen, the result of "inundations of the sea," as it is termed in a deed recited in *T.* 253 (*C.* MCCLII). This deed refers to the injury done to the Abbey of Margam by Owen Glyndower, and for that reason King Henry VI grants the restitution of lands, etc., lying between Ukgemore (Ogmore) and Garwe (Garw) called Egliskeinwir[1] (now Llangeinor), and because of injury done by "various innundations of the sea, for upwards of four miles."

The deed runs, "Nos igitur in consideracionem permissorum ac eciam pro eo quod dicta ecclesia grangie et domus eidem pertinentes tempore rebellionis *WALLIÆ* spoliate et destructe fuerunt per *OWYNUM DE GLENDORE* et complices suos, et ulterius quod terre dominice dicte abbatie et grangie ejusdem submerse sunt et destructe per inundaciones aquarum maris per spacium quatuor miliariorum et ultra." Dated under Royal seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, at Westminster Palace, 28 April, Hen. VI, A.D. 1440.

Eglwysnunyd, as I have said before, stands on the Roman Road, the *Via Julia Maritima*, and in thinking of the Welsh name for the road, "Heol-y-troedwyr," "Road of the Foot-soldiers or Infantry," one can imagine, on a still, calm night, that one hears the tramp of the soldiers of the Second Legion, whose headquarters were at Caerleon, passing along on the road to Neath (Nidum) and Loughor (Leucarum); Welsh, Llwchwr. The tradition of the Roman occupation became lost in the mists of ages, and the inhabitants thought the name Heol-y-troedwyr must be Heol troad-dwr, "the road of the turning of the water;" and so it is called to-day, shortened into "Water Street" in English.

A little north of Eglwysnunyd is Cwrt-y-defaid, or, as it is named in the Crown Sale to Sir Rice Mansel, "Shepes Mylle"; Cwrt-y-defaid is Sheep Court, or Farm. It is now the saw-mill for the estate. The mill-race is fed by the same stream that worked Cryke Mill, three-quarters

[1] Eglwys—church; Keinwir—St. Ceinwir. "Llan" now is used for church; formerly it meant an enclosure.

of a mile to the north. The race also fed the Abbey fish-ponds, "stagna vivaria," as they are termed in the Crown Sale.

At Cwrt-y-defaid is a bridge over the mill-race stream called Pont-yr-Offeiriad, the Priest's Bridge. On the opposite side of the road from the Mill at Cwrt-y-defaid is a mound called Beggar's Bush—why so named I could never find out, unless the beggars going from the Abbey in old days rested there to enjoy the food given them at the Abbey; or, I think it still more probable, the mendicant friars, who were not regarded with friendly eyes by the Monastic Orders, may have used the knoll as a resting-place, preaching from it and begging from the passers-by: hence the name, "Beggars' Bush." The high road passed close to the Abbey in those days; it was diverted several years ago from the Abbey and straightened. The new part was made in the days when, as the late Mr. C. R. M. Talbot once told me, the Abbey was the quarry for the neighbourhood, for in the walls are dressed Sutton stones, with here and there carved bases of pillars and capitals from the ruins. I have an idea that Shepes Mylle was a woollen or fulling mill for making the woollen garments for the monks and the servants.

What a terrible age was that which set in in the Georgian days, when the priceless Early-English work in the choir of the Abbey church was pulled down, and the stones carted all over the parish, and used in building walls, barns, and pig-styes; when the arcades and pillars of the nave of the church—the older Norman work—were pitted with holes to retain plaster, and then plastered over, the interior filled with unsightly pews, and an elaborate pulpit erected against one of the pillars. The better altar-frontal was reserved for the periods in which the family resided at Margam, and the shabbier one put on when they were absent. But a great change came; a renaissance had slowly but surely arrived: the pews were banished, the plaster removed, showing the stonework of the severe Norman period once more; open seats replaced the box-pews, and the church was changed and beautified.

ERRATA IN PART I.

NOTES ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY, Vol. lix.

Page 165. Fifteenth line from top, "M° C° XXXIX," should be "MCCXXXIX."

,, 169. Fourth line of third paragraph, *for* "his brother Leisan and Owein," *read* "his brothers Leisan and Owein."

,, 169. Fifth line from bottom, "in Melis" (see note on Melis). Note omitted: it should be "Melis = Melus" (pronounced "Melis"), Welsh for "sweet": land occasionally covered by the tidal waters, and the grass thereby made sweet. Sheep graze eagerly on this short grass, and thrive well upon it. Meols in Wirral, Cheshire coast, has a similar meaning."

,, 177. Second line of last paragraph, *for* "Hafod-y-Port, *read* "Hafod-y-Porth."

,, 179. Second line of last paragraph, *for* "Prince's Gravestone lies," *read* "a Prince's Gravestone lies."

,, 180. Last line of first paragraph, "—Grwys, a corruption of Croes," *read* "Grwys, a corruption of Groes."

(*To be continued.*)

THE BOY BISHOP[1] (*EPISCOPUS PUERORUM*) OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.

By the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A.

(*Read January* 15*th*, 1902).

Part I.

IN order to appreciate the significance and the meaning of both the function and the customary rites and observances connected with the *Episcopus Puerorum* ceremonial, as an institution of the Western Church that existed for some centuries in mediæval England, and for a much longer period on the Continent of Europe, it will be necessary, as far as possible, to trace its history through various stages. The material for the purpose is not very abundant, but sufficient exists to enable us to gain a fair insight into the singular mediæval festival which connects the Boy Bishop (*Episcopus Choristarum*) with that most popular saint of the Middle Ages, St. Nicholas, the patron saint of children, upon whose day (December 6th) the election of the Boy Bishop was ceremoniously made, and with the festival of the Holy Innocents (December 28th), when the observance of Childermas came to a conclusion.

The fourth-century St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra, is honoured in being regarded as the patron saint of nearly four hundred churches in England. Virgins and children, scholars and sailors alike, nay, even thieves and robbers, recognise in this native of Asia Minor their

[1] *Puer Episcopali habitu ornatus.*

patron saint and protector. The feast of Saint Nicholas is a festival of distinctive importance, particularly in southern Italy, where at Bari the commemoration is altogether unique in stately grandeur and solemn impressiveness. I am unable to discover any ceremony that answers to the election of Boy Bishop, with its attendant rites, in this connection, save only that pilgrims, on entering the church of St. Nicholas, sometimes move along the aisles with the forehead pressed to the marble pavement, led by a child, who holds a string or handkerchief, the end or corner of which is in the mouth ("a little child shall lead them"). The spirit of such abasement is discernible in the complete subjugation of the dignitaries of a cathedral church to the direction and government of a chorister, to whom all authority, apparently for a time, is unreservedly committed. Or, again, the marked deference paid by the Church authorities to the people, as seen on this day. There the Saint Nicholas festival is said to be the only occasion in Italy when *the religion of Jesus Christ is seen in the hands of the populace!* Early in the morning, the mariners receive into their own particular charge, until nightfall, the wooden image of St. Nicholas, attired in the robes and mitre of an archbishop. They carry the image in all directions, on land and sea, amidst the most intense enthusiasm; and it is only late at night that the canons receive again into their custody the form of the archbishop. It may be mentioned that the King of Italy, when he enters the precincts of St. Nicholas, is esteemed a less person than the Prior. It is not difficult to trace in these proceedings much that bears on the Boy Bishop ceremonial ("the elder shall serve the younger")[1].

The origin of the festival, in common with other similar days of rejoicing, in what may be termed their

[1] Some notes on the "Legendary Life of St. Nicholas" were read before the British Archæological Association by Dr. W. de Gray Birch (17th March, 1886). In vol. ix of the *Journal* (p. 449) is a further communication, bearing on the same topic. Some particulars relating to the "Nicholas" or "Boy Bishop," are given in the latter, including extracts from documents belonging to Winchester College, testifying not only to the observance of the festival (A.D. 1415-1462), but to the possession of the child's episcopal staff.

coarser and more boisterous aspect, may undoubtedly be traced to the heathen *Saturnalia*, which took place on December 17th. That the latter had a strong hold upon the habits and affections of the people is beyond all doubt, and, as in so many like instances, resulted in the institution of less hideous orgies, that were at least supposed, in some measure, to be brought under the control of Christian influence. There are certain points of resemblance that clearly establish the relationship of the *Saturnalia* with the subsequent celebrations. In the *Saturnalia*, the slaves took the place of the masters, and acted without restraint; so in the Boy Bishop, and similar ceremonial, the lesser assumed the *rôle* of the greater, and the proceedings were marked, more or less, by like unbounded licence. The festival of the *Sigellaria* being connected with the *Saturnalia*, the mirth was extended to a week. Lucian makes Saturn say in the *Saturnalia*: "During my reign of a week, no one may attend to his business, but only to drinking, singing, playing, making imaginary kings, playing servants at table with their masters," etc.

The shocking profanity that characterised certain festal observances on the Continent can hardly have entered to an appreciable extent into the festivities that were associated with life in the English Church.[1] It has become too much the tendency to associate the buffoonery of the Christmastide carnival with certain imposing ceremonies and observances, countenanced and encouraged by the mediæval Church.[1] Sir Walter Scott, who has familiarised us in "The Abbot" with the Lord or Abbot of Misrule, or Unreason, has a note to the effect that the Church after this manner connived at the follies of the rude vulgar, and assumed the privilege of making a Lord of the Revels, not only under the title or style of Lord of Unreason, or President of Fools,[2] but also under the

[1] This is probably due to customs which obtained in certain quarters where, as at Beverley Minster, the *Rex Stultorum* festival (which was prohibited in 1391) was celebrated, but it certainly was exceptional and short-lived.

[2] "A graund Capitaine of mischiefe whom the people were wont to innoble with the title of *Lord of Misrule* and hym they crown with great solemnity and adopt for their kinge."—Phil. Stubbs' *Anatomie of Abuses*, A.D. 1595.

name of the Boy Bishop, thereby profaning the holy places by a mock imitation of the sacred rites, and singing indecent parodies on hymns of the Church.[1] The sport of enacting the Abbot of Unreason, in which a mimic prelate was elected, seems to have been peculiar to Scotland; and according to Sir Walter Scott, like the Lord of Misrule in England, the Abbot of Unreason turned all sorts of lawful authority, and particularly the Church ritual, into ridicule.

Such manifest impropriety and studied irreverence can best be viewed in the light of a degeneracy that marked the period immediately following on the Reformation, when at least the rites of the Church, which had been in a measure, however unwittingly, profaned, would lend themselves to the scoffer's jest, and would be parodied with a mischevious fervour that may be said to have possessed the popular mind during a bout of hilarity.

It is necessary to observe that the ceremonies connected with the Boy Bishop have no proper relationship, as I understand the matter, with the indecent and irreverent "Feast of Fools," with all its unhallowed and grotesque surroundings, which Bishop Grosseteste, however, in the thirteenth century, sought to suppress; and such action, as it would seem, was pretty general about this time.[2] The "Feast of Fools" was doubtless brought in to counteract the pernicious influence of the Roman *Saturnalia*. In order to stay the licentious character of heathen observances, it was not deemed prudent to turn aside altogether from the institutions to which the people were so greatly attached. It would be an interesting study to view under this aspect the association of acknowledged Christian feasts, *e.g.*, St. Valentine, and mark the connection with the practice of our heathen forefathers. Prynne, Polydore Vergil, and others, comment upon the

[1] There is absolutely no authority for this statement as to the use of indecent hymn parodies in connection with the Boy Bishop.

[2] Strutt (*Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*) is not warranted in assuming a universal observance in cathedral churches of a "Bishop of Fools" custom. Neither in England did the ceremony partake of the impious and degrading character that marked it on the Continent.

affinity, concluding that the revelry of the Christmas-tide observances was "the very ape and issue of the other," and should cause all pious Christians eternally to abominate them. They overlook the fact that unguarded licence and the utter lack of control in respect to these customs was the main cause of the disorders they justly condemn, and that the intention in allowing these extravagancies at all was at the first deemed at least politic if not praiseworthy. There was little or no apprehension of the serious result that might follow, either as regards the cause of religion or the well-being of the Church. With the indecorous festivities and undignified gambols that characterised the observances so often classed with the Boy Bishop ceremonies, the latter had really little or nothing in common. The annual election of the Boy Bishop from among the choristers, with its accompanying features, has been in turns viewed as a burlesque, as a profane and ridiculous mummery, a buffoonery, a ludicrous parody, a solemn farce, a mere pastime, an idle revel, etc., etc. In its special character, at all events, it is not entitled to be so regarded; and the observance, if it does not merit complete approval, deserves a little less of the hasty contempt with which it is too frequently associated, and more in the way of dispassionate investigation.

It may not be possible to alter the trend of deep-rooted opinion in a rough-and-ready condemnation of such supposed "child's play," to disarm prejudice, or turn aside a churchman's dislike to a spectacular portrayal of sacred things, that in his mind amounts to little less than a prostitution of divine offices, and sorely violates his sense of religious propriety; but it ought to be possible to state the case so as to render it less difficult to discern its more pleasing side. For the antiquary the subject must possess a peculiar charm and attraction; and it is cause for some surprise that no particular attention should have been hitherto directed to the main points of interest which may be said to centre in the *raison d'être* of the ceremonial employed.

Without question, many foolish extravagancies were, in course of time, perpetrated, but the maintenance of the

Boy Bishop, as an institution, was doubtless dictated by no unworthy motives. So far as the ceremonies are concerned, there seem to have been a steady determination to safeguard the position by an honest endeavour to magnify the Boy Bishop's office, and raise the whole tone and character of the observance, with a view to serve the highest interests of the Church and her servants.

Like so many attempts at incompatible compromise, we can scarcely be surprised that the process of grafting the more hallowed features of our holy faith upon a stock of barbarous growth met with indifferent success. It was perhaps the wisdom of the Church not wholly to dispossess the popular idea in respect to pagan customs, which were in very truth a part of the national life, and possessed the affections of the multitude. An evidence of this disposition not to displace cherished institutions lightly may be discovered in the utilisation of the very temples raised in honour of heathen divinities as places of Christian worship.

The Boy Bishop ceremonies were not necessarily a departure from Church order, neither are we right in regarding them as a mere appeal to the vulgar tastes of the common people. The ornate ritual can never be said to have fallen so low as to have become "absolutely ridiculous." It was, at least, intended to serve a much higher purpose. The whole spirit of the function was surely against a travesty of Christian worship; and however much we may deplore a craving after what may not unreasonably be termed sensationalism, we cannot fail to recognise a laudable desire to captivate, after the spirit that animated the age, the religious affections of the people. Compare the present-day endeavours that mark the action of various religious bodies, notably certain of more recent growth; and after making due allowance for the changes wrought by time, say whether the *Episcopus Puerorum*, as an institution of the Middle Ages, is so outrageously improper as to bear any comparison, in point of folly, with the ancient *Saturnalia*, or even the extravagancies of modern times? Rather was it not conceived in the spirit that at once sought to gratify the religious instincts that marked a particular period of the

Church's life, in specially honouring the person of a child, notably when the child was engaged in her service, as well as in upholding the childlike character, which, being displayed through the medium of high ceremonial, was intended to lay hold of the religious susceptibilities of the people at large.

Warton[1] thinks that "the religious mockery" (as he phrases it), which is too readily assumed to have been founded on certain modes of barbarous life, may be traced backward certainly as far as A.D. 867 or 870. About this time the Constantinopolitan Synod found it to be a custom in the Courts of Princes for some layman to personate a bishop, and in this and other ways to make sport for the company. This scandal was duly anathematised. Clearly, this levity was no recognised Church function. In the tenth century, it is affirmed by Cedranus that Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople, introduced the festivities connected with the selection of a boy as *pseudo*-bishop. Whether the action was observed in the Western Church at an earlier date is uncertain, but it may be fairly assumed that at no later period on the Continent of Europe, and possibly in England, the boys of the cathedral schools took part in Christmas festivities, hallowed by religious services, in which they had first place. We possess abundant evidence relating to dances in several churches on the Continent, in which, during the Christmas season, priests, deacons, subdeacons, and choristers are said to have engaged; even a bishop, an archbishop, and a Pope were elected in profane show. Such riotous proceedings—certainly so far as dancing in churches on the Feast of the Holy Innocents was concerned—were expressly forbidden by the Council of Cognac, in 1260, Basle and Nantes in 1431, the Chapter of Treves in 1445, and as early as 1198 by the Papal Legate; but all manner of impieties marked the so-called "Liberty of December," both within the Church and beyond. That the frivolity of the "Feast of Fools" was an accepted diversion on the Continent in connection with the Church is an established fact, attested by a

[1] *History of English Poetry.*

MS., in the Cathedral of Sens, where the actual office book of Fools is said to be preserved.[1] It is satisfactory to feel that mock ceremonial of this kind had certainly no such prominence in the English Church; and while in many parts of France the Boy Bishop observance was classed with the Feast of Fools, there has never been, as far as I can learn, any real attempt to bring them together. In the popular mind, however, there is some disposition to view the two as more or less identical in origin and purpose. In the Feast of Fools, a pretended bishop seems often to have been the chief actor, and to have provoked superabundant mirth, being frequently associated with other mimics, who occupied the stalls of the Canons. It is not, however, pretended that such shameless spectacles were Boy Bishop celebrations, certainly not as practised in England. Yet, here and there, instances of the Boy Bishop celebrations, as at Zug, in Switzerland, are recorded, where the *Episcopus Puerorum*, being preceded by a chaplain bearing a cross, was followed by a "fool," who carried a staff, to which a bladder, filled with peas, was attached, the companions of the Boy Bishop bringing up the rear, attended by a military guard. After going to the church, the Boy Bishop proceeded to levy a tax on the several booths and stalls in the fair. This, however, was a somewhat exceptional occurrence on the accustomed fête-day towards the close of the eighteenth century.[2]

The ceremony of the Boy Bishop was anciently observed at Tours, Antwerp, Beauvais, Vienne, Toul, Senlis, Noyon, Amiens, and in many other important churches, with much grandeur and solemnity. It will be sufficient here to mention the case of Rouen, as affording some indication of the nature of the ceremony. The choristers in albs, copes, and tunics, holding tapers, assembled in the sacristy on the eve of the Feast of the Holy Innocents,

[1] *Vide* Du Tilliot's *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire de la Fête des Foux*. Lausanne, 1741.

[2] The *St. James's Chronicle*, November 16th, 1797, said of this *fête* that it had been suppressed, the traders having made complaint of the demand for stallage. It was added: "The Bishop means to appeal to the Pope."

and from thence went in procession, headed by the Boy Bishop, wearing his mitre and the usual episcopal vestments, to the altar of the Holy Innocents, from whence he gave his blessing to the people. Mass was sung by a canon, the Boy Bishop singing the prose and the offertory. At vespers, at the singing of the words, "He hath put down the mighty from their seat," the Boy Bishop resigned his office and staff (the people giving an offering of money), having first said Mass (presumably as far as the offertory), and preached. Not only were the ceremonies observed in the several cathedral churches of France, but also in houses like the Convent aux Dames at Caen.

It would appear that in Germany, as early as 1274, the Boy Bishop observance was adjudged by the Council of Saltzburg[1] as having produced great enormities, and the festival was in consequence prohibited ("ludi noxii quos vulgaris eloquentia Episcopus puerorum appellat"). The follies that so often attended the function clearly got the upper hand, and the religious element was lost in unseemly gaiety. We obtain an insight into the nature of the proceedings that tended to bring the festival into obloquy, from an account of the election of the Boy Bishop in the churches of Spain. A chorister being placed with some solemnity upon a platform, there descended from the vaulting of the ceiling a cloud, which, stopping midway, opened. Two angels within it carried a mitre, which, in their descent, they placed upon the head of the boy. We are hardly surprised to learn that this became an occasion of some irregularities. In Spain the Boy Bishop, who exercised his jurisdiction from St. Nicholas Day until the Feast of the Holy Innocents, bestowed various secular offices upon his "prebendaries." It is well-nigh past belief that such absurdities should have been tolerated, as appear to have largely been the case, and the most sacred rites parodied, in so many places and under varying conditions for a very considerable time—many centuries, in fact.

An ancient and curious custom obtains in Seville,

[1] Du Fresne. Voc. *Epis. Puer.*

where, at the Cathedral Church, during the last three days of a religious carnival,[1] the choristers dance before the high altar, being attired in seventeenth-century costume. This dance has been described by Lady Herbert[2] as "so solemn, so suggestive, and so peculiar, that no one who has witnessed it can speak of it without emotion." The origin of this custom is, I believe, unknown, but it is not unlikely to be a relic of the Boy Bishop ceremonies. It is certainly instructive to find devout persons still regarding even dancing before the altar with approbation. This is, I think, the more interesting when dancing in English churches at Christmas is considered. In the Camden Society volume, *Anecdotes and Traditions*, p. 80, we read:—"Captn. Potter (born in the north of Yorkshire) sayes that in the country churches *at Christmas*, in the *Holy daies after Prayers*, they will dance in the church, and as they doe dance they cry [or sing] *Yole, Yole, Yole!* etc."

This latter form of celebrating Christmas during the holy days of the festival affords well-nigh conclusive evidence to my mind of the practice being the outcome of the proceedings in the Boy Bishop and similar rites. Such observances of more recent times would appear to have awakened no particular amazement. Indeed, the way in which mimicry insinuated itself into the most solemn causes, remaining in some sort even to the present time, is remarkable, *e.g.*, watching by a corpse; while some kneel and pray, others drink and play cards, etc.

That the ceremony had in process of time become largely associated with sport, and that derision and scoffing (not without reason) assailed it in many quarters, is evident from a passage in Puttenham:[3]—

"On St. Nicholas's night, commonly, the scholars of the country make them a Bishop, who, like a foolish boy, goeth about blessing and preaching, with such childish terms as make the people laugh at his foolish counterfeit speeches."

[1] During the octaves of the festivals of Corpus Christi and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[2] *Impressions of Spain in* 1866, p. 129.

[3] *Art of Poesie*, 1589

The interdict of the Council of Basle, A.D. 1431, alludes to the ceremony as "called the Feast of Fooles, of Innocents, or of children in *certain* countries." This "foule abuse" detested of that Sacred Synod is further spoken of as "frequent in certaine churches . . . on certain festivals of the year when certaine persons with a miter, staffe and pontifical robes, blesse men after the manner of bishops, others being clothed like kings and dukes . . . others practising vizarded and theatrical sports; others making traines and dances of men and women."[1]

It is not unlikely that this latter description is grounded upon widespread usage, when the ceremonial that attended the Boy Bishop's "episcopate" had become entangled in a mass of absurdities which required a vigorous sweep of the reforming broom to clear away. That the spirit of the Reformation was moving a century at least before it actually took shape, is seen in the term of the interdict which forbade "such like plays and pastimes to be any more exercised in the Church, *which ought to be the house of prayer*," etc.

It is important to observe that the practice of mingling divers singular observances of this class together obtained at an early period in England, for in a precept to the Sheriff of Oxford, in 1305,[2] a prohibition went out to prevent tournaments (military spectacles) being intermixed with the sports of the scholars on St. Nicholas Day. What was clearly inconvenient then proved in course of time to be a very real evil. The scholarly and religious element was considerably curtailed by the action of unfitting accompaniments, long before the Boy Bishop ceremonies in mediæval England were restrained altogether.[3]

At the Propaganda College at Rome, the custom of choosing a Boy Bishop by ballot on Christmas Eve is still observed. The practice is said to have been stipulated for in the original grant of money at the foundation of

[1] Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 601.

[2] *Close Rolls*, Edw. I, memb. 2.

[3] A survival of the Boy Bishop exists, I am told, in the St. Wilfrid celebration at Ripon, when a mock bishop passes through the city.

this institution, to perpetuate this observance of the Middle Ages. The Boy Bishop is attended by deacons and sub-deacons, whom he selects generally from Italian youths connected with the community. His episcopal functions close the day after the Epiphany.

Some sort of revival of the Boy-Bishop custom, *minus* the episcopal adjuncts, has taken effect in connection with a Roman Catholic Church in Westminster, where St. Aloysius is annually commemorated in a procession of children through the streets, and the recitation by a boy, vested in black cassock and biretta, of a sermon delivered from the top step of the high altar, surrounded by his attendant companions. The subject of the sermon, written by one of the priests of the Mission, appears to be the life and example of an eminent child of saintly character.

The practice of choosing a boy from among the choristers of cathedral, collegiate, and other churches would appear—at any rate towards the period of the Reformation—to have been well-nigh universal. The election was made by the boys themselves, on the Eve of St. Nicholas, where, as at St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, all were present at an entertainment, when the Boy Bishop was presented with gloves, etc.[1] On St. Nicholas Day, the boys accompanied the object of their choice to the church in solemn procession. Two chaplains were in attendance on the Boy Bishop at St. Paul's Cathedral, together with two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the servants of the Church; and this, with slight deviations, would be the order elsewhere. The procession passed into the choir (as we learn from the Salisbury use), in such order that the dean and the canon went first, the chaplain followed, while the Boy Bishop and his prebendaries took the last and pre-eminent place. The Bishop having taken his seat, the rest of the children disposed themselves on either side of the choir, upon the uppermost ascent, the canons bearing the incense and the book, and the *petit* canons the tapers, according to the regulated order. From such

[1] Payments for such items occur in the College accounts during the fifteenth century.

time to the close of the next day's procession, none of the clergy, whatever their rank, might ascend to the upper seats. The Boy Bishop had a special set of pontificals provided for his use, which, from the various entries in sundry inventories and elsewhere,[1] would appear to have been frequently of a most sumptuous character.

The Boy Bishop and his company sang the first vespers of their saint, and the same evening, arrayed in their vestments, went in procession through the cathedral precincts or parish, the Bishop giving his blessing, and otherwise dispensing such favours as became his state. It is recorded that in 1299, King Edward I, when at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, attended vespers at Heaton, upon St. Nicholas Eve,[2] and to the Boy Bishop and his companions who sang with him, the King gave an offering of forty shillings. While the Boy Bishop went his round, and during the subsequent days of his so-called visitation, he gathered his subsidy. A very considerable revenue must frequently have resulted, especially when it is remembered that the term of office did not expire until the night of Holy Innocents' Day (December 28th).

From the Issue Roll of the Exchequer (Michas. 35 Henry VI) I extract the following :—

" 25 Oct. Puero episcopo libere capelle Regis Sti. Stephani In denariis de eleemosina ipsius Regis in Vigilia S. Nicholai, prout consimili Episcopo temporibus progenitorum dicti domini Regis in Vigilia predicta antiquiores solvere consueverunt per breve generale currens ut supra . . . . xxs."

Needless to say, there was much feasting and merriment, which, it is right to add, was confined in a general way to the outside of the church.

It is usually thought that the Boy Bishop, in cathedral churches, among other privileges, had the right to fill any prebend that happened to become vacant while he held office.[3] This is, I think, a mere assumption,

[1] A representative series of extracts from Church Goods Inventories, in illustration, will be given later on.

[2] *Wardrobe Amounts*, Edw. I, published by Society of Antiquaries.

[3] Miss Yonge, in her contribution to the Christmas Number of *The*

derived apparently from the one isolated reference to Molanus (A.D. 1619), who says that in the Church of Cambraie a cathedral prebend that then fell vacant was at the disposal of the Boy Bishop. It is equally doubtful if any sort of order existed in reference to the burial of a child-bishop with the honours due to a bishop in the event of his decease. It is curious to observe how such an idea gained currency. On the north side of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral is a small monumental effigy of a bishop in episcopal garb, with crosier in hand. This diminutive figure attracted the attention of John Gregorie, one of the chaplains at Christ Church, Oxford (died 1646), who, in a treatise entitled :

> "EPISCOPUS PUERORUM | *in die* | INNOCENTIUM | or | A discovery of an Ancient Custom in the Church of Sarum making an Anniversary Bishop among the Choristers,"

which appears in the second part of his works, gives it as his opinion that the mitred form, owing to its size, commemorates a child. It seemed to Gregorie and others, incredible that a bishop could be so small of stature, or "a child so great in clothes!" Subsequently, he found among the statutes governing the Church, one bearing the title, *De Episcopo Choristarum*, and afterwards turning to the *Processionale ad Usum Sarum*, he was led to conjecture that the tomb could be no other than that of one of the Boy Bishops, who, he imagined, had died during the time he sustained such dignity. In such case, the chorister bishop is supposed to have been interred with much pomp, and his ornaments upon him. After discoursing on his so-called discovery (for the monument had long being hidden away beneath some seats near the pulpit), and the different ways in which the festival of the Holy Innocents had been observed, he says: "But the most commensurate recollection of this day's business (did not the superstitious part spoil the decorum) is that which we are now about: a celebration of the day, and the divinest part of that, by a service and

Monthly Packet (1878), has expressed this idea in her pretty story, "Early Dew; or, the Boy Bishop," and also in "The Mice at Play."

solemnity of children."[1] It will be seen that Gregorie was disposed to view the celebration as restricted to the one day, that of the Holy Innocents. It is highly improbable that a child bishop is commemorated in this effigy at Salisbury; rather, the tomb is probably that of an actual bishop of the diocese. This conjecture is strengthened by later investigations, which have brought to light quite a number of these smaller effigies, not of ecclesiastics only, but of knights and civilians.[2] Neither is the probability of a Boy Bishop dying during his brief tenure of office worth encouraging, seeing that particular care was taken to have a vigorous youth.

Fosbrook,[3] speaking of the Boy Bishop ceremony, says: "Our ancestors used this (mummery) as we now do the Catechism, to impress principles, such as they were, upon the minds of their children . . . It was plainly founded on this story in the legend of St. Nicholas. A bishop who had been elected to a vacant see was warned by a dream to go to the doors of the church at the hour of matins, and 'hym that sholde fyrste come to the chyrche and have the name of Nicholas, they sholde sacre him Byssop'[4] (*i.e.*, one bishop was superseded by another)".

There appears to be some difference of opinion as to how far the Boy Bishop proceeded in the Office, or to what extent he celebrated Mass. It would seem that where the custom obtained of saying Mass, the youthful celebrant went no further than the more solemn part of the Offertory.[5]

In the *Processionale ad usum insignis et preclare Ecclesiæ Sarum* (Rothomagi, A.D. 1556, 4to.) occurs the particular service in use on the eve of Holy Innocents'

[1] The observance in the Church of Sarum dates from the opening of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. The Bishop of Salisbury (Mortival), in 1319, forbade both feast and visitation, owing to irregularities.

[2] In a Paper by J. R. Planché, on "Sepulchral Effigies in Salisbury Cathedral" (British Archæological Association, *Journal*, vol. xv), wherein are illustrations, this view is taken.

[3] *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 660.

[4] *Golden Legend*, xxix, b.

[5] The proclamation of Henry VIII affirms that the Boy Bishop did "singe masse;" some authorities think that the Mass was excepted.

Day, with the musical setting. The dignitaries of the Church acted as "servers" to the boys. The following free rendering of the original form will, I think, prove acceptable. It gives a better idea of the office than could otherwise be obtained.

DIE ST. JOHANNIS AD VESPERAS DE INNOCENTIBUS PROCESSIO.

The procession of boys shall go to the altar of the Innocents or the Holy Trinity and All Saints, with their silk copes, and their lighted tapers in their hands, singing:

The hundred and forty-four thousand who are redeemed from the earth: these are they who were not defiled with women, wherefore they reign with God and God with them.

The Bishop of the Boys, when seated, shall begin the response.

Three boys shall say a verse: These were the first-fruits taken from all places by God and the Lamb: and in whose mouth no falsehood was found. Therefore they reign.

All the boys shall sing a like prose, as follows, viz.:

Sitting on the seat of His Supreme Majesty.

The chorus shall answer the singing of the prose.

V. They humbly adore, calling upon Thee,
V. Holy, Holy, Holy, King of Sabaoth.
V. All things are full of Thy glory,
V. And with Thy most innocent flock,
V. Who are without any stain,
V. Saying in a loud voice:
V. Praise be to thee, O Lord, King of Everlasting Glory. Therefore they reign.

During the procession he does not say the Gloria: but while the Prose is being sung the Bishop of the Boys shall cense the altar, then the figure of the Holy Trinity, and afterwards the priest, and shall say in a subdued voice, this:

V. Let us rejoice in the Lord.

Prayer.

O God, the martyr infants have confessed, not by speaking but by their death, whose day of intercession it is: mortify all evil vices in us, that Thy Faith of which our tongue speaks may be shown by the conduct of our lives. Who with God the Father.

On their return from the altar, the Chanter Chorister begins De Sancta Maria.

R. Happy art thou for, etc. *When his own verse is ended, the Boy Bishop shall say in a subdued voice:*

V. A beauteous form.

Prayer. O God who art our Salvation. *Which endeth thus:* God who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.

The Lord be with you
And with Thy Spirit.

Then shall follow: Let us bless the Lord, *by two or three out of the ordinary course. Then the Boy Bishop shall enter his stall, and in the meantime the Cross-Bearer shall receive the Bishop's staff turned towards the Bishop; and he shall begin this Antiphone* Chief of the Church, *which is not said if the Bishop be absent; and when he shall have come to that word,* with gentleness *he shall turn towards the people and sing the whole.*

Ant.—Chief of the Church, Shepherd of the fold, Thou art deemed worthy to bless all Thy people, with gentleness and charity. Humble yourselves for the blessing

The Chorus shall answer:
Thanks be to God.

Then he shall hand the staff to the Bishop; and then shall the Boy Bishop first sign himself on his forehead, while beginning in this manner:
Our help is in the name of the Lord, who maketh heaven and earth.

Then the Bishop signing himself on his breast shall say:
Blessed be the name of the Lord.

The chorus shall answer: From this time forth for ever more.

Then the Bishop, turning to the Chorus, shall raise his arm, and shall begin his blessing in this manner: I sign you with the sign of the Cross.

Here he turns himself to the people, saying: Let this be your safeguard.

Then he turns towards the altar, saying: Who purchases and redeems you.

Afterwards, having turned himself about, while placing his hand upon his breast, he shall say: I pray for your body (flesh). Chorus, Amen.

When this is accomplished, the Boy Bishop shall begin the daily Compline in the usual manner: after the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria. And after the Compline the Boy Bishop shall say, turned towards the Chorus, in the aforesaid tone (of voice):
Our help is in the name of the Lord who maketh heaven and earth. Blessed be the name of the Lord. From this time forth for evermore. May the Almighty God bless you, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Where truly he does not make a procession from the Innocents,

then he shall make a memorial first from these, before the memorial of the Nativity, with this (antiphon):

The Innocents were slain on Christ's behalf by a wicked king; they were killed, sucking children as they were. They follow the Lamb himself without spot, and ever say: glory be to Thee, O Lord.

V. Let us rejoice.

Prayer. O God, on whose day, *etc.*

When the Memorials have been said, the Boy Bishop shall say the blessing over the people in like manner as it was said after the Compline.

This response shall be started by a single boy on the choir-step in his silken hood, and his own verse shall be sung by all the boys in their superpellicas in the boy's quarter, with the prose if it suits, and so with the Gloria.

And in like fashion the Boy Bishop shall bless the people in the manner indicated. And so the office of the boys is accomplished for this day.

Needless to say the reformed Prayer-book left no place for the ceremony, neither was the form compatible with the new order of things.

The custom, as we have stated, was widespread, but particular attention may be directed to the fact that at certain cathedral churches, and some more important parish churches, it was observed with special ceremony.

I have spoken of Salisbury: in the old statutes of that church it was specially ordered that no one, under pain of anathema, should in any way interrupt or press upon the Boy Bishop and his companions as they passed in procession, or hinder them in any part of their service, but suffer them quietly to perform their office. The regulation in itself not only points to the desire on the part of the authorities not to allow anything in the way of disorderly conduct (and such behaviour had need to be guarded against), but it attests the imposing nature of the ceremonial, which was in danger of losing its impressiveness, and degenerating into coarse, profane ribaldry. It is very wide of the mark to imagine that the intention of the Church in this custom was to amuse the people.

At St. Paul's Cathedral, statutes were in force regu-

lating the observance[1] from an early time. From this source we learn that the tendency was to bring the dignity of the Church into disrepute. It was consequently ordered, *inter alia*, that the Boy Bishop should select his own ministers[2] to bear the tapers and the censer, from among the boys, and not — as had previously been the case—from the Canons of the Church. This was owing to the action of the dean, Geoffrey de Feringes, in 1262. At this early time, it would seem that the privileges of the Boy Bishop were being somewhat curtailed; and, as in this instance, the one peculiar idea of the function, viz., that "the elder should serve the younger" was being abrogated. Among other formalities at St. Paul's, after vespers on the eve of St. John the Evangelist, the Boy Bishop was entertained either at the deanery or at the house of the canon-in-residence; if at the deanery, fifteen of the Boy Bishop's companions joined him. The dean also provided a horse for the Boy Bishop to go in procession, while each of the other canons furnished a horse to enable some person to join the *cortége*. Although the procession was discontinued by proclamation on July 25th, 1542, Cranmer giving effect to it, the custom was so far cherished by the citizens of London as to be retained for some years after the issue of the order.

Dean Colet gave express directions in the statutes that governed his school that "all the children shall every Childermas day come to Paulis Churche and heare the childe bishop Sermon and after be at the hygh masse and each of them offer a 1*d*. to the childe bysshop." This recognition of the custom says much for its reasonableness.

[1] *Vide* Part vi, cap. 9, of the Statutes as incorporated by Bishop Baldock and Dean Lisieux in *Registrum Statutorum*, etc. See also the Statute *De Officio Puerorum in Festo Sanctorum Innocentium.*

[2] Those that sat on the second or third form, *i.e.*, the choristers, who were designated "Clerks of the Third Form." The arrangement prevails still in Cathedral Churches, not so the designation!

(*To be continued*).

BATH STONE.

By T. STURGE COTTERELL, Esq.

(*Read at the Bath Congress, August 9th*, 1904.)

THE Bath Stone of which I am about to treat is quarried on the uplands south of Bath and north-west Wilts, the quarries having been sunk on a vast Oolitic—which American and Continental geologists call "Jurassic"—formation. From the time of the Roman occupation down to the present day, thousands of tons have been extracted yearly from this bed, and the day is still far distant when it will be exhausted. Roman and English architects have chosen this stone to impart exquisite and enduring beauty to incomparable designs for private, public, and ecclesiastical buildings. The use of it, as well as the genius of the architects, has given Bath a high place among cities, and induced Macaulay, in his *History of England*, to characterise it as "that beautiful city which charms even eyes familiar with the masterpieces of Bramante and Palladio."

The Romans held that the hardest stone was best suited for building purposes, and the massive structures at and around the hot mineral springs which were erected two thousand years ago are still in a state of preservation, which testifies to the wisdom of the Romans and the excellence of the stone. It was quarried to the south of the city, from ground adjoining the "Fosse-way" or Roman road, with ditches on each side, the place being near or opposite what is now Bloomfield Crescent. This was the site of a Roman camp, but the quarrying has effaced nearly every vestige of it, while the spot still bears the name of Brerewick Camp, but the quarry has long

ceased to exist. According to the late Mr. J. T. Irving, a notable Bath antiquary, that stone may have been quarried by the Romans as far as Englishcombe Lane; there is a tradition that a Roman town once stood on this spot, and that stone coffins have been disinterred on its site. Leland, in his *Itinerary* of 1532, notes that he saw, after leaving Midford, on his way to Bath, "that it was all by mountaine and quarre, little wood in site." Coming to Holloway, he says: "I came down a rokky hill, full of faire springs of water, and on this rokky Hill is set a longe streate, as a suburb to the Cyte;" and it is possible that the surface quarries seen by Leland may have been opened by the Romans, or they may have tunnelled from an opening on the slope, and extracted stone far below the surface, where the quality, both of slate and stone, is generally the best. There is nothing improbable in work having been carried on by them underground, the appearance of some of the Roman carved work showing indications in its texture as having been obtained from these finer beds which are not found in open quarries. The Catacombs at Rome demonstrate how well they would execute such work. The votive altars to be seen in the Bath Museum are made of stone from the quarries on the "Fosse-way," and they were probably erected during the second century.

There were many Roman walls within the city boundary in which large blocks of the oolite stone could be found; but there is certainly no better evidence of the massive stonework which, under the Roman dispensation, found a permanent resting-place, than around our mineral springs. It is strange, however, that there is but little evidence of the mason's mark on the masonry. Under the United Hospital a Roman wall exists in which there are several blocks, and on one of which may be seen the earliest mark in Bath, viz., the letter "T."

To bring large blocks of stone to the city required a large number of men and sledges, and the native Britons were doubtless enforced to supply the manual labour: just as, in earlier days, the men whom the Egyptians had made captive were employed to build the Pyramids.

We can trace the course with ease: from Bloomfield

Road direct to the city they would traverse Holloway, or Haulway, thence to the forum over a bridge, situated exactly where the Old Bridge stands to-day. There is evidence that quarries existed at Entry Hill, as well as on the slopes of Beechen Cliff, but at the latter place few traces remain of any quarrying. Though the excavations at the former are large, there is no evidence of working earlier than 150 years ago. During the Saxon occupation, and when Ceaulin took possession of the city, and made it an appendage to the kingdom of Wessex, it is probable that in devastating the city he destroyed many of the architectural ornaments originally raised by Roman labour; and much of the stonework was incorporated with the walls to strengthen the bulwarks of the city, and employed in the monastic buildings.

The Saxons were not noteworthy as builders, or architects, or roadmakers, but it is to their credit that in 976 they raised a stately cathedral in Bath. The stone for this cathedral, to a large extent, was taken from the ruined buildings which the Romans had left behind when they evacuated the country. The Saxons had, therefore, at hand a quarry fully developed and ready for use, just as the Turks had when they became masters of Greece, and despoiled the Parthenon and other masterpieces of Grecian art in order to build a wall or repair a dwelling.

Edgar was crowned the first King of United England in the Cathedral at Bath, and from far and near the monks came to witness the grand ceremonial: an event that will ever rank amongst the most important annals of the city.

The city contains few specimens of Norman architecture. Wood has stated that two Norman churches existed in the early part of the eighteenth century, but all traces of them have long since disappeared. William Rufus, the destroyer of the city, sold the remains and his domain to John de Vilula, a French physician from Tours. This interesting personage combined the position of chaplain and physician to William Rufus, through whose influence he obtained the appointment of Bishop of Bath, and afterwards of Wells, the two titles being conjoined. He built a Norman abbey of an extent

far exceeding that of the present structure, and restored the city baths. It is probable that he took the stone required from the vestiges alike of Roman and Saxon buildings.

John de Vilula acquired the King's legal rights in property, subject, of course, to the laws in force. His son built a little Norman church in Holloway, outside the city, while his father was building the abbey.

Little can be said of the buildings during the Middle Ages, and therefore of the use of Bath Oolite within the city; indeed, there is no evidence, with the exception of the abbey, of any great architectural effort being made from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century; even the abbey in 1539 was incomplete, the Norman structure having long ceased to exist. However, in the country around there exist many notable examples of architecture. That dwellings existed in the town is indubitable; yet, for the most part, they were but paltry thatched houses, of little note and of short duration. Around the Baths there were, however, a few buildings of a superior type, which were occupied by medical practitioners and others: who not only gave professional advice to those who came to take the waters, but provided accommodation for them also.

Pepys, the prince of gossips, came to Bath in 1668, and records that he walked round the walls of the city and saw fair stone houses, probably those residences of the medical men who made handsome fortunes. The mediæval Guildhall then stood in the centre of High Street.

In 1569, the Corporation, following the example of the past, took the stone for its erection from the "Palles," or Palace, and Abbey buildings, situated on the south side of the Abbey, and even from the partially-built Abbey itself. In the Abbey buildings thus demolished had resided that great Oriental scholar "Adelard," to whom we owe the introduction of Euclid into Europe; and where Ælfheah, who succeeded Æthelwold as Bishop of Winchester, assumed in his youth the religious habit, and lived secluded in his cell.

When Inigo Jones visited Bath, the authorities took

advantage of his presence to obtain new designs for the Guildhall, which were afterwards carried out. It is probable that on its demolition, and the erection of the present structure in 1777, that some of this stone was again utilised. Thus we have a singular succession from the Romans to the present day.

Two men are conspicuous and renowned as the successful pioneers of the great industry of extracting splendid building stone from the vast Oolitic deposit: the one being Ralph Allen, the other John Wood. Ralph Allen came to Bath in 1715. Four years afterwards, at the age of twenty-six, he established the system of bye- and cross-posts, which is the foundation of our present postal system.

Foreseeing the enormous possibilities when supply of valuable building stone was developed, Ralph Allen, being a shrewd and thorough business man, determined to re-open the quarries on Combe Down, which had been worked only partially for many years, and subsequently to develop the deposits on Hampton Down. He was ably seconded by John Wood, who achieved fame as an architect. What Wood aimed at was a fine and effective architectural alignment as a foundation. His genius is stamped on the many edifices, streets, squares, and crescents in which the citizens of Bath now live and glory, and command the admiration of visitors from all parts of the world. The stone was taken by water, says Kilver, to Bristol, Liverpool, London, and Ireland, and even so far as Lisbon, and other parts of Europe.

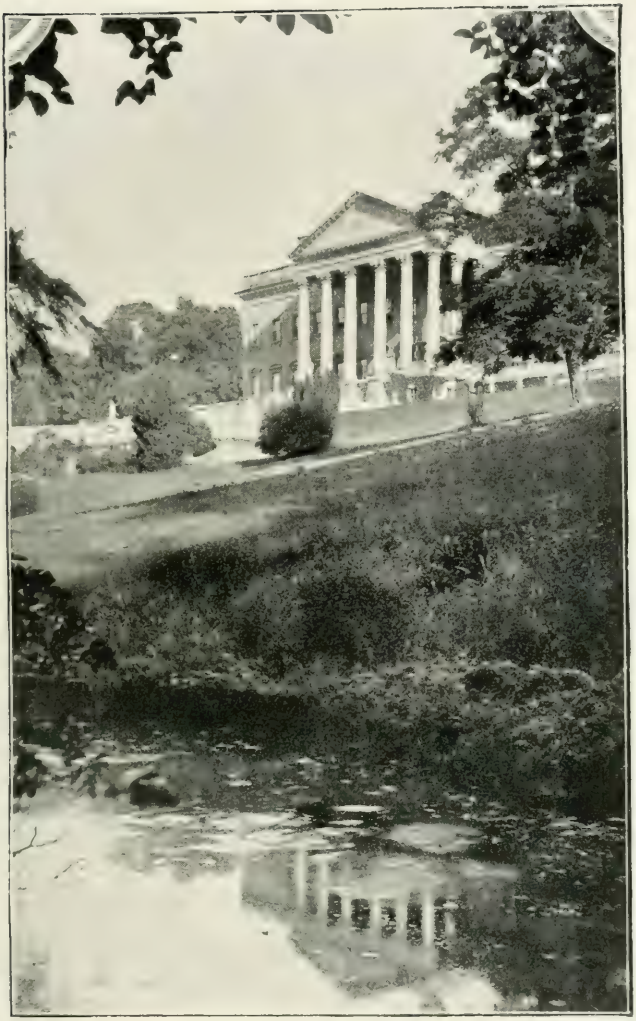
Wood's grand conceptions did not find favour amongst his contemporaries, and they were executed at a great financial risk, and in the teeth of keen opposition. But, when his palatial designs were embodied in Bath stone, the nobility and gentry which made a temporary home in Bath, delighted to inhabit the houses which had been erected under his supervision. It was chiefly due to him that the efforts of Beau Nash to make the city a resort for pleasure-seekers, as well as invalids, were crowned with a success which is unique in the city's history.

For years this Bath stone had been worked largely for minor ornamental purposes in gardens and courtyards.

Wood mentions quarries existing in the Lansdown side of Bath, but traces of them do not exist now. In 1725, just after the Avon had been rendered navigable to Bristol, Allen commenced quarrying in earnest. One of the first residences erected in the city was the house occupied by Beau Nash, now the "Garrick's Head." (The profuseness of the ornaments, says Wood, tempted Nash to make it his first residence.) After Nash's removal to the one next door, it was occupied by Mrs. Delany and Miss Berry. At that time this was a very good advertisement for Bath stone.

Allen's town house was next erected, a part of which still remains. Afterwards Wood built the North and South Parades, the former being called "The Grand Parade," which were rendered famous by Sheridan's play, *The Rivals*, the houses in them being occupied at different periods by many men and women of eminence: Goldsmith, Wordsworth, and Edmund Burke are some of the great men who sojourned in the North Parade. The South Parade was the dwelling-place of Mr. and Mrs. Thrale and Frances Burney, where Dr. Johnson and Boswell visited them; of Sir Walter Scott when a lad; of John Wilkes, and of the Princess Amelia. In Pierrepoint Street, which runs between them, Lord Chesterfield passed several years, and wrote the "Letters to his Son;" there Quin, the wit and actor, ended his days, while Nelson lived in a house adjoining when he visited Bath for the recovery of his health. In this street lived Linley, the accomplished musician, and here his eldest daughter saw the light—the Miss Linley who was celebrated in prose and verse as the "Maid of Bath;" who became the wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan; who had no rival in her day as a vocalist; and whose lovely features were immortalised by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his portrait of her as "Saint Cecilia."

Subsequent buildings designed by Wood were Gay Street, in which Jane Austen's mother lived, and where she was married; Queen Square, in which, at No. 13, Jane Austen abode for a time, and the Circus, which despite the disparagement of Smollett, is a fine specimen of architecture. The second Lord Stanhope and the elder



Prior Park, Bath.

Pitt, and the famous Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, were amongst the first occupiers of the Circus; Pitt commissioned Wood to erect Nos. 7 and 8. Lord Clive, after his return from India, broken down in health, took up his residence here; and, subsequently, the ill-fated Major André's family resided here; while Gainsborough painted at No. 24 many notable pictures which made his name famous.

Noblemen at this period thought it incumbent upon them to possess a Bath residence in the Circus: the Dukes of Beaufort, Monmouth, Kingston, Chandos, Bedford, and Marlborough, all had mansions.

Being intent upon showing the capabilities of Bath stone, Ralph Allen arranged in 1737 for the erection of a stately residence on Widcombe, at "Prior Park." In the erection of this stately pile, says Wood, 800 tons were used in the foundations, and 30,000 tons in the superstructure. Everywhere in the building, even to the sash-bars of the basement windows, Bath stone was used, as can be verified to-day. The building, from wing to wing, extends over a quarter of a-mile. One wing was devoted to the administrative department and the postal work. Prior Park was the centre of the great network of cross-posts which Allen instituted, and which brought him great profit and reputation.

While Nash in the city itself set the fashion and conducted the entertainments, Allen entertained many men of note in the political and literary world; among them being Bishop Warburton, who became his son-in-law. Sterne, Fielding, and the elder Pitt, who was then one of the members of Parliament for the city, delighted in it as a pleasant retreat. Allen was indebted to Pitt for the suggestion of the erection of a Palladian bridge, which forms a picturesque feature in the grounds.

Pope found comfortable and congenial quarters at Prior Park. He writes: "I am here in more leisure than I can possibly enjoy in my own home." Philip Thickness describes Ralph Allen's mansion "as a noble seat which sees all Bath, and which was built probably for all Bath to see." Again, Thickness in his censorious strain says: "Allen was gaining a princely fortune by digging stone

from the bowels of the earth, while in his post-office contract he has actually picked it off the surface." Allen exercised all his faculties in the development of the trade in stone; he built cottages for the workmen near their work, some of which remain to-day, and in every conceivable way he increased the output. He established tramways to convey the stone from Hampton Down and Combe Down to the wharves—a system which has not been altered since, nor can it be improved upon.

During this century the Assembly Rooms, Pump Room, the new Guildhall, Mineral Water Hospital, Grammar School, and Royal Crescent were built, giving an immense impetus to the quarrying on Combe Down.

Baldwin, another architect, followed in Wood's footsteps, and in Pulteney Street and other buildings in Bathwick established a reputation second to few. The famous Pulteney Bridge over the Avon, with shops above, forming the most curious bridge in the kingdom, is of Bath stone.

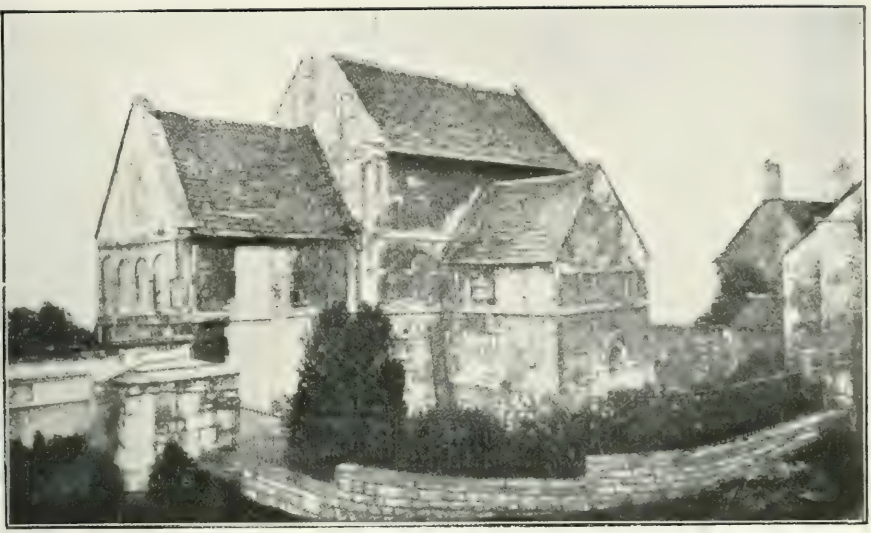
In the neighbourhood of Box Hill, both above and below Brunel's famous tunnel, oolite has been extracted in large quantities, even so far back as Saxon times. Haselbury Quarre, or Quarry, has been identified as the place where the stone was taken for building Malmesbury Abbey 1100 years ago, and it is an interesting fact that to-day the stone is being quarried for the purposes of its restoration. This is truly remarkable evidence of historical continuity, so far as the stone is concerned. The tradition of the discovery of the famous stone at Box, known as Box Ground, is not generally known. According to the legend, St. Ealdhelm, a man of distinguished piety and virtue, being about to found the Abbey at Malmesbury, he indicated, by throwing down his glove, the spot where stone might be found; or, to use the words of Aubrey, the learned Wiltshire antiquary: "Haselbury Quarre (*i.e.*, Box) is not to be forgott; it is the eminentest freestone quarrey in the West of England, Malmesbury, and all round the country of it. The old men's story that St. Ealdhelm riding over there threw downe his glove and bade them digge, and they should find great treasure, meaning the quarry." Little did this learned prelate

COMBE DOWN, BATH.

Showing Mr. Allen's Free-Stone Quarry and Wharf.

From a Map by Thomas Thorpe, 1742.

Haselbury "Quarre" Box.



Saxon Church, Bradford-on-Avon.

Malmesbury Abbey.

think that the great treasure which Brunel also accidentally assisted to discover should still be worked after the lapse of eleven hundred years. St. Ealdhelm also built the little church of St. Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon, probably the most perfect specimen of Saxon architecture in this country, of which the learned Professor Freeman says :—"This, the one surviving old English church in the land," and probably the oldest English church in the land. The stone for this building was quarried from Haselbury.

The quarries near Box have supplied stone for the erection of many other noteworthy and historic buildings. Among them are Lacock Abbey, and such magnificent mansions as Longleat, Shockerwick, Bowood, and Corsham Court.

The Augustinian Abbey of Lacock is situated in an old Wiltshire town, about three miles south of Chippenham, on the high road between Bath and London. Lacock Abbey is of historical importance. It was founded in 1232 by Ela, wife and widow of the Norman Earl of Salisbury. Seven years after its foundation, she herself became its Abbess.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Bath in 1574, she stayed at the Abbey on her way thither.

Lacock Abbey was fortified and garrisoned for the King during the Great Rebellion. It was besieged in 1645 by Parliamentary troops, and the garrison was forced to surrender on honourable terms. This structure is one of the best examples of a building of Bath stone, though much of the present building, and surrounding outbuildings, are sixteenth-century work. Mr. Breakspear states that the Abbey buildings were constructed with rubble walls of hard stone, and dressings of freestone, and was supplied from the Haselbury quarry, in the Manor of Box. In the Lacock *Cartulary*, preserved at the Abbey, "Henry Cook, or Crook, gives to the convent the quarry, between the lands of Sampson, Lord of the Manor of Boxe, and Walter Campedene, with the liberty of ingress and egress so long as it lasts." This quarry in 1241 was an open one, with an adit or tunnel into the sides of the hill over the present Box tunnel.

Probably, this portion of Henry Crook's domains became worked out, for one Robert Abbot, of Stanley, in Wiltshire, whose abbey was built with stone from the same quarry, gave to the said convent one part of his quarry at Haselbury, "being in length 76 ft., and in width that which was theirs, and they may take as much stone as they can from that place in exchange for the other quarry that the convent bought of Henry Crook."

The beautiful Renaissance mansion, Longleat House, the seat of the Marquis of Bath, was built with Box stone in the sixteenth century, John of Padua being the reputed architect. It will ever be remembered as the safe retreat for twenty years of the saintly Bishop Ken.

Shockerwick is another residence built by Wood, close to Box. It was while visiting this house, to view an extensive collection of Gainsborough pictures, that William Pitt received, in 1804, the eventful news of the disaster at Austerlitz. He could not survive the shock, and passed away in less than two months afterwards.

The stone has been used within recent times on many important buildings, as Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and parts of Windsor Castle, Apsley House—the gift of the nation to the great Duke of Wellington, which is cased in Bath stone—and portions were used in the construction of Buckingham and Lambeth Palaces.

The construction of Box Tunnel led to the re-working of the famous beds of oolite in the Wilts. district, and what was doubtless looked upon as an unnecessary work, on the part of Brunel, has proved one of the most valuable assets of the Great Western Railway. It is probable that the enormous quantities of stone sent from this district yearly pay the railway company a handsome interest on the large sum of money involved in the construction of this Tunnel. One would not be far out in stating that nearly three million cubic feet of stone are dug and sent from the Bath district yearly.

I conclude by adding with pride, as a Bathonian, that Colonial architects value Bath stone so highly that it is exported to Canada and South Africa, and has been extensively used for large public buildings in those countries.

British Archaeological Association.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 8TH, 1904.

The sixty-first Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association opened at Bath, on Monday, August 8th, in brilliant weather. The members and friends assembled at the Guildhall at 3 P.M., when the Mayor (Major C. H. Simpson) accorded them a hearty welcome to the historic city, and referred to the fact that most of the citizens choose the month of August for betaking themselves to the seaside or the moor, as accounting for the absence of many who would otherwise have joined in the welcome.

Mr. R. E. Leader, President of the Association, suitably replied, after which the Guildhall was inspected. The building is interesting, as forming one link in the chain of the eighteenth-century architecture of the city, and contains one or two good portraits, notably that of Beau Nash in the Mayor's Parlour. The proportions of the Council Chamber are fine, and the decoration simple but effective.

The Abbey Church was next inspected, and its history and architecture described by the Rev. C. W. Shickle, Hon. Local Secretary, and the Rev. H. Maynard. The Abbey, as it now exists, is noteworthy as being all built at once in the very latest Perpendicular style. The fan-vaulting throughout—*i.e.*, in nave, choir, and transept, which was completed at the last restoration—imparts a heavy look to the building, although the effect from the west end is undoubtedly striking.

The square top to the east window is curious, if not unique, and the straight line across the wall immediately below the vaulting is hardly pleasing to the eye. The few remains of the Norman building, planned by John de Villula, show that it must have been of magnificent proportions, but are not sufficient to convey any real idea of its appearance.

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist was then visited. This was founded in the year 1170; but, unfortunately, nothing ancient now

remains except some fragments of the original rood-screen of the chapel, which had been built into the roof in later times. The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to a perambulation of the town, with the view of obtaining a general notion of the characteristics of the architecture of Bath and the outline of the Roman and mediæval city, which the modern town now smothers in its vastly-extended boundaries.

In the evening a conversazione was held, by the kind invitation of the Mayor, in the Old Pump Room, which remains to-day very much as it was when Beau Nash was Master of the Ceremonies, and it was the fashionable thing to go to Bath "to take the waters." More than two hundred guests assembled to partake of the Mayor's hospitality, and to listen to the President's Inaugural Address, which has been printed, pp. 1-10.

After an inspection of the objects of interest found in the course of excavating the Roman baths, including the case containing the beautiful intaglios, of which more than thirty were found together in the Roman culvert, and which one would like to see in the British Museum, an adjournment was made to the Roman Promenade, as the ancient bath is now called.

The fountain was in full play, and the electric flash-light, with its vari-coloured slides, gave, no doubt, a pleasing effect, although it somewhat marred the illusion under which the spectator would fain transport himself back to the days when Aquæ Solis was one of the most important cities of Roman Britain, and this bath, so wonderfully preserved, was the favourite resort of its citizens. Here, taking his stand on a large stone, from which the Roman swimmers may have flung themselves into the water, Mr. Alderman R. H. Moore gave the following account of "Roman Bath and its Baths:"—

"The city of Bath in Roman times and occupation was far more circumscribed than now; a wall enclosed it with an area of about 480 yards north to south, and 500 yards east to west. The line of the enclosed streets has been preserved, and we have our Northgate, Southgate, and Westgate Streets, and although no Eastgate exists, yet a still better evidence of the east gate remains in a staple in the wall at the rear of the Empire Hotel, upon which it was hung. The Roman conquerors would not have been likely in settle in this valley of the Avon, but for its abundant thermal springs. Their use was a part of their worship, and 1,900 years ago this valley must have been a hive of industry in the building of these large baths and the splendid temples which surrounded them. The Corporation of Bath has shown considerable enterprise in preserving the ruins of these ancient monu-

ments. The late Major Davis spent all his energies in discovering and recording them, and his successor, Mr. A. J. Taylor, has shown considerable ability in arranging the fine specimens of Roman architecture which now adorn the annexed museum. It is tolerably certain that during the Roman occupation, from the reign of Claudius, A.D. 54, until about A.D. 410, the area of the baths and gardens to the river Avon measured six or seven acres. The Corporation of to-day has the monopoly of the thermal springs and baths, which cover an area of about one-and-a-half acre. The Romans in the use of the waters and in the rearing of their buildings had every facility for their pleasure and comfort, and the building materials close at hand. The famous Bath stone lies in the hills around us; the lead was obtained from the Mendips, about twenty miles from this spot; and their fires were fed by the coal of the district. This bath around which we gather is the largest and finest specimen of Roman work this side of the Alps. It is one of a series of five large swimming-baths which have been uncovered: three are in a line with each other; the Lucas, the one around which we stand, and the circular bath in the annex running from east to west; one large bath is under the Queen's Baths; and the fifth is under Stall Street, over which our electric trams run. The bath before us stands in a hall, measuring 110 ft. by 68 ft.; 14 ft. is used for the scholæ or platforms surrounding the bath itself, the water surface of which is 82 ft. by 40 ft. The bath is 5 ft. 9 ins. deep, with six steps leading to its floor, which is to-day covered by lead plates of Roman manufacture, measuring 10 ft. by 5 ft., the edges burnt, not soldered together, and the material weighing 30 lbs. to the foot. The Romans, through the wide and peculiar inlet pipe, specimens of which are before us, conveyed the hot water from the reservoir of the adjoining spring; and in the adjoining museum there exists at the foot of the spring itself a spot with steps, discovered by the late Major Davis, which was used for a drinking-place, as flagons, cups, ornaments, a gold pin with a pearl mount, and a gold earring were found there. A Roman lead pipe of about 50 ft. runs in a trench in the north schola to the centre of the bath, and this pipe originally passed through the circular hole in the stone pedestal upon the northern steps of the bath now in position, conveying cold spring water to the bathers, either for douching or drinking purposes. This pipe contains no mineral water incrustation. The Roman culvert, constructed of massive stones, runs from the drinking-place through two fine arches of Roman brickwork, and conveys the outflow from the great bath through York Street to the river. In this culvert the late Major Davis found some fine specimens of engraved stones used as seals by the Roman visitors, and this

is very good evidence that the lapidary shops were in connection with the baths. These intaglios have been mounted for us by the authorities of the British Museum, and are now displayed in the Pump Room cases. This late hour of the evening prevents me from enlarging on the roofing of this bath and the Roman reservoir from which it is filled. We are grateful to our Roman conquerors for the noble remains which they left in the midst of our city. They are a splendid heritage; but we are still more grateful to the beneficent Providence which pours these healing waters into our city, half a million gallons every day, at a temperature of from 104 to 110 degrees—waters which have healed thousands of our suffering men and women in this and in past ages."

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9TH, 1904.

The second day of the Congress was occupied with visits to Great Chalfield, Bradford-on-Avon, Farleigh Hungerford, and Hinton Charterhouse. Starting at 9.30 a.m., the party found the drive to Great Chalfield a most refreshing change from the heat and dust of the city. On the way a good view was obtained of South Wraxall Manor, a fine Elizabethan building, but time did not permit of its being visited.

The objects of interest at Great Chalfield are the church and the manor-house. The former is a quaint little building, consisting of a small nave and chancel, with a large chapel to the south, which almost dwarfs the main fabric. The chancel-screen is of stone, and is a good example of its period—Perpendicular. Unfortunately, the walls throughout the church are thickly covered with white and yellow wash, and the pews, pulpit, and altar are beggarly in the extreme. The western door has a large hood-mould, which almost forms a small porch. The manor-house, now used as a farm, is moated, and is a magnificent specimen of its date, about 1470, *i.e.* the reign of Edward IV. The eastern wing is gone with the exception of the north front, which is perfect, and contains an elaborate and beautiful oriel window, which formerly gave light to the guest chamber.

At Bradford-on-Avon the parish church was described by the vicar, the Rev. S. G. Collisson, and the Saxon Chapel by Mr. W. J. A. Adye, under whose supervision it was restored, and who loves every stone of it. Mr. Adye wisely refrained from committing himself to dates, although he spoke of the building as being 1,000 years old, and of the possibility of its floor having been trodden by King Alfred. The Rev. Dr. Astley—who agrees with Prof. Baldwin Brown, that the building, as it now exists, is not Aldhelm's original *ecclesiola*, men-

tioned by William of Malmesbury, but a later restoration of the time of Dunstan, *i.e.*, that the architecture is not that of the early eighth but of the late tenth century: about 975, and not 705—was unfortunate prevented from giving his reasons by a touch of sunstroke, and his Paper was deferred to an evening meeting.

Dr. Beddoe, F.R.S., then conducted the party to Bradford Old Hall, of which only the exterior could be viewed, and to the tithe-barn and Old Bridge Chapel; after which the drive was continued to Farleigh Hungerford. This must have been an extensive and important castle in the days of the early Hungerfords, but little remains of it now beyond the gateway, the curtain wall in some parts, and two of the eight turrets which it originally possessed. Its most interesting feature is the chapel, which contains, besides a fine series of tombs of the Hungerfords, a good collection of seventeenth-century armour, some chain-armour of the fourteenth century, and some beautiful old carved oak, besides an autograph letter of Oliver Cromwell, dated 1652.

At Hinton Charterhouse the party were met by Mr. Foxcroft, and conducted round the ruins, which consist practically of only two blocks, the so-called "chapter-house" and the refectory. It is remarkable that the former, if the chapter-house, should have been much more elaborately finished at the east end than at the other, and that the east end should not only be marked off from the rest by a distinct break in the groining of the roof, but should have an aumbry on the north side and a very fine double piscina on the south. Moreover, there are no traces of any seating round the walls. In the opinion of Mr. Leader, and others of the party, it is much more likely to have been a chapel than the chapter-house; but whatever it was, its fine groined roof and beautiful lancets form a striking example of the Early English style at its best. The church has entirely disappeared; so have the cloisters and monastic cells, and no excavations have yet been undertaken to determine their position or arrangement; but they must have been on the usual Carthusian plan. Hinton was founded by Ela, Countess of Shrewsbury, about 1227, and is one of the nine charterhouses of that Order.

At the evening meeting in the hotel a Paper was read by Mr. Sturge Cotterell on "Bath Stone," which has been printed, pp. 49-60; and a lecture was given by Mr. Mowbray Green on "Eighteenth-Century Architecture in Bath," illustrated with a complete series of lantern views, which, it is hoped, will be printed.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch moved a vote of thanks to the readers of the papers, and, referring more particularly to Mr. Cotterell's, remarked that he had been struck with the diligence of architects and masons in

always endeavouring to keep the stratification of the stone in a horizontal position. Occasionally, but very rarely, from inadvertence, the stone had been used with the strata in a vertical formation, and, under such circumstances, the stone did not seem to resist the weather so well. The same thing was noticeable in the use of the red sandstone in the neighbourhood of Liverpool.

Mr. Patrick, A.R.I.B.A., seconded the proposition, and, in reply to the mover, said architects always specified that the stone should be laid upon its proper bed, in order that it might be more lasting.

The vote was adopted with unanimity, and suitably acknowledged by Mr. Mowbray Green and Mr. Cotterell, the latter saying that his view entirely agreed with that which Mr. Patrick had expressed. Bath stone, if it was laid upon its proper bed, was as good a stone for wearing as they could get. Sometimes, ignorant masons failed to place it the right way. But it was generally understood that it is essential that Bath stone should be laid on its natural bed.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10TH, 1904.

On Wednesday morning, August 10th, the members and friends started in considerably increased numbers, in brakes and carriages, to visit Lacock Abbey. The route taken led through ths picturesque village of Box, and on past "Hazelbury Quarre," aud the villages of Pickwick and Corsham.

The first stop was made at Box, and the church was visited, the party being met by the rector, the Rev. W. White, who described the building, and the restoration which has been carried out during his incumbency, whioh commenced in 1896. The church consists of chancel, nave, and north and south aisles, and is for the most part of the Decorated period, the south arcade being particularly good. The restoration has been lovingly and carefully executed, the galleries which disfigured the west end and the aisles having been swept away. There is a central tower, which is supported on four low Decorated arches; and as the chancel is somewhat long, and the appearance of the east end from the nave gave rather the impression of viewing the altar through a tunnel, the latter has been moved a few feet westward, a reredos in keeping with the church has been erected, and a vestry constructed behind, where, in old days, the processional passage might have been, as at Tideswell, in Derbyshire. A curious little stone coffin, evidently intended for an infant, was discovered during the restoration on the south side of the external wall of the chancel, near the priest's door; and with this a legend is connected, which tells how,

in the fourteenth century, the lady of the manor longed for an heir, who was snatched from her in the hour of his birth. This is now built into the wall over the door.

At "Hazelbury Quarre" a good view was obtained of one of the most famous of the Bath stone quarries, which supply the material which gives to the city and neighbourhood the solid and subtantial look that all the houses, even the cottages, possess.

At Corsham there is a fine church, consisting of nave, aisles, transept and chancel, and, originally, a central tower. This has, unfortunately, been removed, and a modern tower and spire have been erected over the south porch, which lend an ungainly appearance to the exterior. The aisles are separated from the nave by low Norman piers with small arches, the two easternmost of which were thrown into one early in the nineteenth century, to the great detriment of the architectural character of the building. A small chapel formerly occupied the east end of the north aisle, and the screen which separated it from the main building still exists. A small portion of the original rood-screen is now built into the south wall of the chancel over the priest's door.

At Lacock the party were met at the church by Mr. C. H. Talbot, the present lord of the manor, who gave a most interesting account of the history and architecture of the building, of which space only permits a brief *résumé* here. Taking his stand on the chancel steps, Mr. Talbot explained that the church was of much earlier foundation than the abbey, having been erected by Robert of Gloucester in the troubled times of Stephen, about 1140. The Norman building had, however, completely disappeared, although evidences of its existence were to be found in the fact that in the sixteenth century rebuilders of that date used the old Norman stones in their work. The earliest part of the present building dated from the fourteenth century, of which the north transept was a good example. The south transept and the south and east walls were rebuilt in 1875. The lower part of the tower showed some signs of thirteenth-century work, but the whole was much pulled about in the fourteenth century. The north aisle was originally vaulted, but this arrangement had been altered to a flat roof. The Lady Chapel dated from 1430, which was proved from the fact that it contains the arms of Robert Nevill, who was Bishop of Salisbury from 1427 to 1437. The barrel roof to the nave was earlier than the chancel arch, the tympanum of which was occupied by a curious Perpendicular window. Over this were carvings of angels, some flying upwards, some down, as in Bishop Oliver King's representation of "Jacob's Ladder" on the west front of Bath Abbey.

The present chancel dated from 1777. There was a fine monument to Sir William Sherington, who bought the abbey and manor from Henry VIII, and died in 1553.

The afternoon was devoted to a perambulation of the remains of Lacock Abbey, under the guidance of Mr. Talbot, who not only allowed the visitors to see all that was left of that famous establishment, but also threw open the house to inspection. Lacock Abbey is sometimes spoken of as unique, and it is so in this respect: that, whereas there are usually some remains of the monastic church while the buildings have for the most part perished, in this case the church has entirely disappeared, with the exception of the north wall of the nave, while the buildings are almost intact, and incorporated in the sixteenth-century mansion.

The abbey was founded in 1232 by Ela, Countess of Shrewsbury, and widow of William Longespée, for Augustinian canonesses; and, according to the *Book of Lacock*, it was on the same day that she founded the Carthusian Priory of Hinton Charterhouse, although some accounts assign that foundation to 1227. The entry in the *Book of Lacock* runs: "Primo mane apud Lacock et Hinton post nonam." This would be quite possible, as the two places are only eighteen miles apart.

The north wall of the church is now the south front of the mansion, behind which runs the south side of the cloisters, which are complete; as are also the chapel and chapter-house, while the dormitory on the north side of the cloisters now forms part of the house. The chapel is in exactly the same position as the remaining building at Hinton Charterhouse, viz., between the church and chapter-house, which goes to prove that that building, with its arrangements for the celebration of divine service, is in reality also a chapel, as it is correctly described in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, and not the chapter-honse, as it has been erroneously called of late.

The prevailing architecture is of the Early English style, though there are later additions both of the Decorated and Perpendicular periods, especially in the cloisters. The central column and vaulted roof of the chapter-house are particularly beautiful. In the latter Mr. Talbot has arranged a museum of fragments of architectural details, some of them of exquisite design, found in the process of excavation and restoration. The calefactory, which is also complete, contains a large cistern, probably for the storage of water, and a fine fireplace. The greater part of the roofs are of the time of Sir William Sherington, and are the earliest known examples of the "truss-and-tie" system. In the grounds is a magnificent brazen tripod, probably

intended for the warming of wine, which bears an inscription stating that it was made at Mechlin in 1500 by Peter de Waghevens. Professor Hamelius, a delegate from the Société d'Archéologie of Brussels, with whose company the Association was honoured throughout the Congress, recognised the tripod as of true Flemish workmanship, and undertook to discover its actual purpose on his return home. He advised that it should be placed under cover, which Mr. Talbot said he had long intended to do. Over the south cloister now runs a long gallery, containing many fine pictures and portraits of Mr. Talbot's ancestors, from Sir William Sherington downwards; and in the muniment room the party were shown the Great Charter of Henry III, most carefully preserved, being one of six original copies. The date is 1225, and this copy was sent to Ela, the foundress of the Abbey, in virtue of her position as Sheriff of the county of Wiltshire, for the use of the knights and military tenants of the county. The charter was read by Dr. W. de Gray Birch, who explained that it was an extension and confirmation of John's "Magna Charta." It is remarkable that it should have escaped the perils of the Dissolution, and descended uninjured to the present day.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Talbot, on the motion of the President, for the great kindness with which he had received and entertained the members of the Association, of which he is a life-member.[1]

At the evening meeting a paper was read by Mr. F. Bligh Bond on "West of England Rood-Screens," illustrated with numerous lantern views. "Rood-screens," said the lecturer, "are objects of the greatest interest, both historically and as symbolic of religious ideas." Confining himself to West of England examples, he said that the Church of England had scrupulously preserved the distinction between the nave and the chancel; and from the earliest time records were found of the veil, or screen, or wall, as at Bradford on-Avon, being employed to mark the division. There was no real screen-work until the fourteenth century. As an example of the square-headed type, the screen at Bridgewater was shown. This has now been removed from its original position, and is on the north side of the chancel. The work is very massive, and the details show that it was done late in the fourteenth century. The fine screen at Dunster Priory Church belongs to the same period. At Wellow there is a beautiful fifteenth-century screen. Examples of perfect rood-lofts remaining in Wiltshire were shown;

[1] Mr. Talbot has kindly promised to furnish a Paper on Lacock Abbey for the next Part of the *Journal*, embodying his lecture on the occasion of the visit.

and, for comparison, some types were exhibited which are met with in Devon.

The fact that so few rood-screens, comparatively, remain—about 2,000 out of the 14,000 ancient parish churches in England, of which 200 are in Norfolk alone—was due to the Puritan excesses far more than to the Reformation, in the opinion of the lecturer; but to this the President entered a *caveat*, remarking that the neglect and ignorance of parsons, churchwardens, and people in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries accounted for more of the havoc wrought than all the disturbances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries put together.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11TH, 1904.

Thursday, August 11th, opened with rain, which, however, was rather a relief after the intense heat and dust of the previous days. In spite of the rain, a goodly party started in carriages for a visit to the neighbouring villages of Bitton, Siston, Pucklechurch and Dyrham.

At Bitton the church was inspected under the guidance of Canon Ellacombe, the rector. This church is remarkable even now for the length of its nave, which, however, formerly extended 10 ft. further to the west, and the chancel seems short in comparison. The roof of the chancel is higher than that of the nave. The foundation of the church was very early, dating, according to Freeman, from the fifth century. Of this Saxon church there are no remains, although there are traces of "long-and-short" work in the north wall of the nave round one of the later windows. There are, however, two fragments of a very rude stone rood, consisting of one arm of the cross with extended hand, and the head inclined to the left, which may have come from the Saxon church. The chancel arch is a modern reproduction of the original eleventh-century Norman arch. The north doorway of the nave, and the south doorway, now blocked up, are of good twelfth-century Norman work.

There was an Early English chantry in the north aisle, and a large four-light window in the south wall, inserted in the time of Edward VI, marks the opening into a south chantry chapel, then pulled down. The north chantry was dedicated in 1299, as is proved by a deed in the Bishop's Registry at Exeter, and the tower was completed in 1370-1371, as is shown by a deed recently found in the Vatican, which confirms the opinion held by Canon Ellacombe's father from architectural evidence. The tracery of the west window exactly corresponds with William of Wykeham's window at Winchester, while the east window is like that of St. Mary Redcliffe. The hood-moulding over

the west doorway terminates in the effigies of Edward III and Queen Philippa.

There are only two noticeable things about Siston Church. One is the Norman leaden font, which is circular, and contains figures of apostles and foliage, under Norman arches in alternate panels. This is one of twenty-seven leaden fonts which are known to exist in England. The other is an interesting Norman tympanum, showing the Tree of Life, over the south door.

A visit was paid to Siston Court, which is a fine Tudor manor house, built on three sides round a courtyard, with angle-turrets at the turn of the wings. The great hall has a good Jacobean mantelpiece, supported by caryatids, representing the god of plenty and the goddess of gardens, and is dated 1620. Queen Anne of Denmark paid a visit here in 1614.

The drive was continued to Pucklechurch, where was situated the palace of the West Saxon kings, the site of which is pointed out in a field not far from the church. Here, on May 26th, in the year 946, was enacted the tragedy in which, as Florence of Worcester says:—"Edmund, the great king of England, was stabbed to death at the royal vill by Leof, a ruffianly thief, while attempting to defend his steward from being murdered by the robber."

Edmund's body was carried to Glastonbury, and buried by St. Dunstan, the Abbot. Here also took place a notable miracle, by which a boy whose eyes had been put out had his sight restored on the intercession of St. Aldhelm, as recorded by William of Malmesbury in the fifth book of his *Gesta Pontificum*. The church is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, which probably explains the name—it is the church of "La Pucelle," the Maid. The north aisle contains two fine monuments and a window of the fifteenth century, which have been described as "flamboyant"; but Professor Hamelius considered the tracery scarcely flowing enough to be so described.

After lunch the party proceeded to Dyrham, where they were received by the Rev. W. T. Blathwayt, the rector and squire, whose son, the Rev. W. E. Blaythwayt, read the following notes upon the building: "The church looks a very simple one at first sight, but detailed inspection points to many interesting, and some doubtful, features. In the main it is Perpendicular. The font is Norman. The next earliest part is the clustered pillar, with similar respond, on the west side of the last arch of the arcade between the north aisle and nave, and dates from 1280. There is no chancel arch, but a piece of the wall on the south side shows where the rood-loft went. The corresponding wall on the north has been cut away to allow for

the insertion of the Jacobean pulpit. This pulpit was lowered at the time of the restoration in 1877, when the rest of the three-decker was altered. There was some Perpendicular woodwork in front of the reading-desk, which unfortunately was burnt, owing to a fire at the builder's in Bath.

"The south aisle is the most interesting. There was a chantry chapel, and to the west is the fine brass of Sir Morys and Lady Russell, 1401. The brass is engraved in Boutell's series. Subsequently, the aisle was lengthened both ways, though not possibly at once. The Perpendicular east and west windows may have been put in again. Between the third and fourth window in the south wall is a space now occupied by a mural monument to Mary, wife of W. Blaythwayt, and her parents. This was most likely left for the fine freestone canopied tomb with the recumbent effigies of George Wynter and his wife, Ann Brain, 1581. This seems to have been removed eastward in front of the last window, to allow for the placing of the above-mentioned monument. The south windows, as well as those in the north aisle (north wall), are square-headed, those in the south aisle having a rather flat arched head inside the church. In the aisle are some good tiles. Some are as they have been for years, but others have been rearranged. Several have been copied for the chancel. There are many exactly like some uncovered at Hayles Abbey in this county, and some at Gloucester.

"In the south wall, low down, is a window, the use of which is not certain. The tower is good fifteenth-century work, with high arch into nave, a west door, and a flatter-headed door in the south wall opening into a porch. This porch is certainly not in its original position, but may have been further east before the aisle was lengthened. The aisles are flush at the east end with the chancel, that on the north being plainly longer than at first. There is a ring of six bells. One has the heads of Edward I and Eleanor, as stops between the words of the motto. The east window has four pieces of old glass —figures: St. John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, and another; and in the west window of the north aisle is a quatrefoil of grisaille glass. The south aisle, or part of it, was used as a chapel for the Guild of St. Denys, which was founded by Sir William Dennis and his wife. The Guild is spoken of by Sir Robert Atkins; the existing altar being used for the services of the Guild."

A discussion arose on the subject of "low-side" windows, which led the Rev. Dr. Astley to sum up the various theories as to their purpose. These, he said, were four, viz.: (1) they were "leper" windows, which idea is altogether exploded; (2) they were intended for the sacristan to ring the sanctus bell when the chantry priest

celebrated mass, that the people in the village, at work or play, might take part in the service; (3) they were intended for a light to be placed there at night, which is not probable; (4) the chantry priest, sitting within, heard the confessions of penitents kneeling outside. This was the most probable explanation of their use, for it was well known how jealous the parish priests were of the interference of the chantry priests, and they would not allow the latter to hear the confessions of their parishioners in any other way.[1]

On the north wall of the nave is a fine series of small brasses, one of which exhibits the latest example of Gothic lettering known to Mr. Oliver.

The party was considerably increased at Dyrham by the presence of large numbers of the surrounding families, who were invited to meet the visitors, and all were hospitably entertained at Dyrham Park by Mr. Blathwayt.

On the drive back to Bath, the Rev. C. W. Shickle pointed out the site of Ceaulin's camp and of the battle of Dyrham, which was fought in the year 577, and gave the kingdom of Wessex to the Saxons; after which they took and destroyed the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Mr. Shickle also pointed out the site of the battle of Lansdowne, between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians in 1642, and described the tactics of the opposing forces on the spot when Sir Ralph Hopton fell. The birthplace of St. Aldhelm and the little chapel connected with St. Elphege, the murdered Archbishop of Canterbury, were also passed, on the summit of Lansdowne Hill, just before the commencement of the descent into Bath. Such old-world associations seem out of place beside the modern race-course.

At the evening meeting, Dr. Birch read a paper on "The Rise of a Great Industry"—*i.e.*, the woollen industry—by Mr. Giberne Sieveking, in the absence of the author; and Dr. Astley read a paper on "The

[1] "Since making these remarks at Dyrham, I have had the advantage of reading a valuable monograph on 'Lowside Windows,' by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Vicar of Witton le-Wear, Durham, which was published in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. xxiii, pp. 43-200. In this article, after enumerating no less than fifteen conjectural purposes which have been assigned to them, the author brings forward conclusive evidence to prove that their true use and origin is to be sought in the universal mediæval belief in demons and evil spirits; and that they were intended for the exhibition of lights by night to scare the demons, and prevent them doing mischief to the bodies of departed Christian folk interred in the churchyard, even as the churchyard cross protected them by day. How real was this mediæval belief in evil spirits may be seen in Longfellow's powerful description of the demons in *The Golden Legend*; and mediæval wills abundantly testify to it, by the provisions made in them for the 'ceremonial use of lights.'"—[*Note by Dr. Astley*, EDITOR.]

Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon," which will be printed. His con clusion was that the building, as we see it, belongs to the great period of church restoration in the reigns of Edgar—or perhaps Ethelred—and was due to the influence of Dunstan. The church which most resembles Bradford is Dunham Magna, in Norfolk, which, however, is later still.

Dr. Birch strongly upheld the early theory for the date, basing his argument on William of Malmesbury's words; while Mr. Wigfull supported the reader of the paper, except that he would assign the date to a year *after*, rather than *before*, 1000 A.D. Dr. Astley, in reply, pointed out that what William of Malmesbury says is that "St. Aldhelm is *generally supposed* to have built a monastery at Bradford;" and adds :—"To this day (1125), at that place there exists a little church (*ecclesiola*), which he *is said* to have built in honour of the blessed St. Lawrence."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12TH, 1904.

Friday, August 12th, was occupied with visits to Glastonbury and Wells. At the former place the party were met by Prebendary Grant, and conducted round the ruins. The day was magnificent, and it was possible to gain a good idea of the glories of the Vale of Avalon in the legendary days of Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur. The Prebendary sketched the history of the famous monastery from the time of Dunstan to the Dissolution, and pointed out the principal features of the building. Mr. Patrick gave a detailed account of its architecture, which will be printed, and Dr. Astley drew attention to two points which he thought worthy of mention, viz., (1) that the intersecting Norman arches of the arcading, both on the exterior and interior of the western Lady Chapel, or Galilee, commonly but erroneously called St. Joseph's Chapel, are of exactly the same character as those on the west front of the Castle Acre Priory, Norfolk, both dating about 1085; (2) the library of this monastery was praised by Leland, who writes that when he crossed the threshold he was struck with amazement at the number and magnificence of the volumes. Most of these precious manuscripts perished, though some are in the British Museum, and some are at Longleat, even as the stones of the buildings were sold after the Dissolution for 6*d.* a cart-load.

At the Abbot's kitchen Dr. Astley pointed out its resemblance to the great kitchen, now the Dean's, at Durham, and also that it showed the last survival on a grand scale of the cyclopean architecture of the Celtic and Irish beehive cells. At the Museum, where are deposited the finds from the Glastonbury lake-village, Dr. Astley gave a short

account of "Lake Dwellings," and pointed out how the ornamentation on certain bone combs and other articles—viz., circles and dots, and incised lines and crosses—corresponds in every respect with the ornamentation on the finds from the Dumbuck and Langbank crannogs on the Clyde. The Glastonbury village would appear to have been for a long while in occupation, for the finds here extend from the Neolithic through the Bronze into the Iron Age.

The afternoon was devoted to Wells, but it was all too short to do justice to one tithe of what was to be seen. In the absence of Canon Church through illness, Mr. C. J. Williams conducted the party round the Bishop's Palace and grounds, and through the Vicar's Close, and Dr. Astley conducted them round the cathedral. He remarked that the sculptures on the west front formed a striking illustration of the "Te Deum," and drew special attention to the beauties of the chapter-house and Lady Chapel; he also explained the reasons for the inverted arches, or St. Andrew's cross, supporting the central tower: which, though necessary, have by no means a pleasing effect.

In the evening the members and friends attended a conversazione given by the Rev. C. W. Shickle and Mrs. Shickle at the Art Gallery, when the former read a paper on "The City Chamberlain's Accounts," which will be printed, and Mr. S. Sydenham gave an interesting address on "Bath Waters in Ancient and Modern Times." The City Charters were on view, and were read and explained by Dr. W. de Gray Birch. The earliest is of the time of Richard I, and gives to the citizens "all the privileges which the citizens of Winchester possess." What these were is not specified, but as Winchester was then still a royal city, they must have been considerable.

The concluding meeting of a successful Congress was held on Saturday morning, and votes of thanks were passed to the Mayor and Corporation of Bath, and to all concerned in furthering the objects of the gathering.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The thanks of the Council were directed to be accorded to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

"The Annals of Gonville and Caius College." By John Caius, M.D. Master of the College. Edited by John Venn, Sc.D., 1904.

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," 1904.

,, Do., for "Contributions to Knowledge," part of vol. xxxiv.

,, Do., for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xliv.

,, Do., for "Collections and Researches in Helminthology and Parasitology," part of vol. xlvi, 1904.

,, Do., "A Select Bibliography," 1492-1902.

,, Cambrian Archæological Association for "Archæologia Cambrensis," vol. iv, Part 4, 1904.

,, Museo Nacional de Mexico, for "Boletin," 1904; "Anales," 1904.

,, Royal Archæological Institute, for "Journal," June, 1904.

,, Stockholm Archæological Society, for "Journal," vol. xviii, Part 3.

A Paper on "Norman Art and Architecture in Sicily" was read by the Rev. H. Cart, and will be published. An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. Hubbard (who has spent many months in Sicily studying the architectural characteristics), Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and the Chairman, took part.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

La Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris.
Hof-und-Staats Bibliothek, Munich.
Universitäts Bibliothek, Heidelburg.
The Ashmolean Library, Oxford.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," Parts 1 and 2, 1905.

,, Somerset Archæological Society, for "Proceedings," 1904.

, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," Part 4, vol. xxxiv.

,, Smithsonian Institution, for "A Comparison of the Features of the Earth and Moon, by N. S. Shaler.

,, Do., for "Miscellaneous Collections," quarterly issue, 1904.

,, Sussex Archæological Society, for "Collections," vol. xlvii.

,, Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," January, 1905.

,, Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for "Journal and Index," December, 1904 ; "Abstracts of the Inquisitions Post-mortem, Part 3, 1904.

,, Essex Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. ix, Part 4, 1904.

A lecture was given by Mr. Andrew Oliver on "London, Monastic and Ecclesiastical," which was illustrated by a large number of lantern views, many being reproductions of scarce engravings of churches and other buildings of Old London now demolished. Maps and plans were also shown upon the screen. Mr. Oliver said that fifteen great monasteries, according to Sir Walter Besant, stood within and without the City before they were destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. They belonged to different religious Orders, but the Austin Canons possessed the greatest number of establishments. All that remains now of these once great monastic buildings consists of the chancel of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, the church of St. Helen in Bishopsgate, the nave of the church of the Austin Friars, part of the Charterhouse, the gateway and the crypt of the nave of the Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell, the church of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, and the Temple Church. Of the parish churches by far the greatest number were situated near the river in the south-east. The saints to whom the churches were dedicated were many times repeated. Thus there were eight dedications to All Hallows, seven to St. Michael, five to St. Martin, four to St. Benet, and so on ; while in many cases a second name was added, in order to distinguish one parish from another, as in St. Margaret Pattens (so named from the patten-makers who lived in the parish), St. Margaret Moses or Mosses, etc. The largest number of churches were, of course, dedicated to St. Mary or the Blessed Virgin. The

particular dedication is sometimes indicated externally, as in St. Laurence, where the weather-vane is in the form of a gridiron, or in the golden key of St. Peter's, Cornhill. St. Alphege's is known as St. Alphege-on-the-Wall, as it is built partly upon the Old Wall of London, which, in fact, forms the north wall of the church.

A short discussion followed, in which Mr. C. Lynam, Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. C. J. Williams, Dr. Birch, and others participated.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, announced that the Congress this year would be held at Reading in July. The date has been fixed for the 17th of that month.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15TH, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the East Herts. Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. ii, Part 2.

,, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxvii, Part 1.

,, Royal Archæological Institute for "Journal," vol. lxi., Parts 242, 243.

,, Powys-land Club for "Collections," vol. xxxiii, Part 2.

,, Yorkshire Archæological Society for "Journal," Part 70, (vol. xviii, Second Series).

,, Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne, for "Archæologia Æliana," vol. i, Third Series :—"Account of Jesmond," by Fredk. Wm. Dendy, 1904.

,, Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society for "General Index," vols. i-xx, Part 1, and vols. xxi-xl., Part 2.

The Chairman exhibited, on behalf of Mr. W. E. A. Axon, a fine photograph and several other illustrations of the very curious sculptured stone which was discovered in the foundations of the west wall of the south porch of Manchester Cathedral in 1871, and is known as the "Angel Stone." It measures 13¼ ins. by 8¾ ins., and represents an angel with extended wings standing, and holding a kind of scroll bearing an incised incription, which Canon E. L. Hicks reads as follows :—

IN MANVS T
VAS DM CO
MMED SP

"In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum" (meum). Considerable

difference of opinion exists as to the real meaning of this stone, and as to its date. Dr. Birch thinks the sculpture and inscription belong to the eighth or ninth century, and formed part of a representation of the Crucifixion. The stone is being carefully preserved by the cathedral authorities. A full account of this interesting stone will be published in our next Antiquarian Intelligence.

Dr. Astley exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Ludovic M. Mann, of Glasgow, some sixty objects, many of flint, others of sandstone and quartz, part of a collection of about 1,200 found at Culmore, in the south of Scotland, on the site of a supposed prehistoric workshop. They are of the Neolithic Age, and some seem to have been handled at a period earlier than that in which the workshop flourished, as they show evidence of the presence of two distinct patinæ on the worked surfaces; some also show signs of fire. No pottery was met with. This exhibition was very interesting in connection with "finds" made recently by Dr. Astley and Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., in exploring the earthworks at Castle Rising, in Norfolk, showing evidences of there having been a similar Neolithic workshop there. An unfinished flint arrowhead, an adze, and a beautiful little flint saw were among the most striking of these "finds." Dr. Astley also submitted some perforated pebbles, which were considered to be of the class described as "lucky stones" by Sir John Evans in his *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 469, and a perforated hammer, from the Fen District. These were sent for exhibition by Dr. Marten Perry, of Spalding.

Mr. Selley, through Dr. Astley, sent for exhibition some portions of Samian ware showing signs of fire, found near the site of East Gate, Exeter, at a depth of 10 ft. He also showed some pottery from the site of a Roman villa recently unearthed at Brislington, near Bristol.

A Paper was read by Mr. C. H. Compton on "Villa Faustini," with reference to a letter in *The Standard* of September 10th, 1904, from Mr. Barham, of Bury St. Edmunds, in which that gentleman, describing Roman remains he had found some three weeks previously at Sicklesmere, about two miles from Bury, raised the question whether the discovery had not localised the position of the "Villa Faustini" of the "Itinerary" of Antoninus. Mr. Compton, although he had not been successful in locating Faustinus's villa at the thirty-five miles distance from Colonia which was required, hoped that the materials he had worked out would prove useful in determining the points at issue.

Mr. Forster, Mr. Emanuel Green, Dr. Astley, Mr. Maples, and the Chairman took part in the discussion on this Paper, which will be published.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Mediæval Heraldic Tiles (*The Bredon Collection*). Drawn in Colours and explained by H. T. Hall.—The study of mediæval tiles has hitherto been little pursued, and those who happen to know the mediæval tiles here and there scattered about do not always appreciate sufficiently their artistic splendour; while those who would immediately recognise the beauty of the work are frequently unaware that there is really a considerable amount of it to be found by the industrious searcher.

This collection of tiles preserved at Bredon Church, Worcestershire, is probably alone in being largely of the early fourteenth century; and it is believed to contain some of the oldest-known English examples of this mediæval art, others being mainly of the fifteenth century or later.

At Bredon Church the tiles now to be illustrated are built into the risers of the chancel-steps, and are in the main well preserved. Some of the specimens are repeated, and in some few cases it has been necessary to reconstruct the tile from two such specimens, where both are now imperfect. But for the most part the best example has been taken as it now is; and by means of a series of forty-five drawings is shown all that is now to be seen.

That none of the beauty of these tiles may be lost, the author has copied them most painfully and faithfully, preserving not only the fine heraldic feeling, but also the rich-toned aspect of age. These drawings will be perfectly reproduced by the most exact and truthful photo-colour process, entirely regardless of expense, in order to secure a permanent record of these matchless examples of this mediæval art.

Each plate will be accompanied by a letterpress description, amplified in many cases by a chart pedigree, showing the connection between the different families, thus accounting for the assemblage of these magnificent tiles in this secluded little parish church. There will be an illustrated introduction on the Church of Bredon; and an essay upon the methods by which these tiles were produced in mediæval times.

The whole subject will be treated in an ample manner: and in the event of the present publication meeting with sufficient support, other collections will be illustrated in a similar way.

The book it is now proposed to issue will be in royal quarto, and printed on superior paper, and the cloth binding will be appropriate to the contents, both in durability and workmanship. The colour-printing will begin so soon as two hundred and fifty subscribers are obtained. The subscription price will be £3 10*s*. Every copy will be numbered and signed, and copies will be allotted to subscribers in order of subscription.

As the time required for the reproduction of the plates cannot be stated with any precision, the subscription price need not be sent until the subscriber receives an intimation that the volume is ready for issue. Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. Fitzwilliam, Publisher, Vernon Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Some Consequences of the Norman Conquest. By the Rev. GEOFFRY HILL, Author of "English Dioceses" (London: Elliot Stock, 7*s*. 6*d*. net).—Napoleon's slighting observation upon the likeness between Russian and Tartar is not likely to be forgotten, because there is an element of truth in it. But the likeness between the Englishman of the tenth century and him of the twentieth is far closer than that between Russian and Tartar, "Scratch a Russian," said Napoleon, "and you will find a Tartar." Far truer would it be to say: "Scratch an Englishman of the present day and you will find the Anglo-Saxon." The Russian is not strictly a Tartar, whereas the Englishman of Edward VII's time is almost the same in blood as the Englishman of the time of Edward the Elder. Certainly, we were mainly Britons and Saxons or English before the Conquest, and such we remain, though there has been since the Conquest a considerable amount of Continental blood introduced into our land. It is the object of Mr. Hill's book to investigate and not to extenuate the changes which the Norman Conquest has brought about, and he has intentionally directed the attention of his readers to the comparatively small consequences of the Conquest rather than the greater ones: these he leaves to be discussed by competent writers. Learned men have written much, *e.g.*, upon the influence of Norman lawyers and Norman modes of thought upon the English judicial system: but Mr. Hill points us to smaller changes, some of which are of considerable importance, and none of them are devoid of interest. Thus, he shows us the ultimate certainty of an invasion of England, even if the Norman Conquest had never occurred; and argues that this

would have been brought about, not so much by the intrinsic weakness of the country, as by the determination of its component parts not to unite for the common safety. Another point that the author treats of is the amount of abuse lavished by the French upon their insular neighbours; this he traces to the Conquest, and gives many and curious examples, founded on misconception, superstition, and aversion.

Old Ingleborough Pamphlets, No. 1. By HERBERT M. WHITE, B.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 2*s.* 6*d.* net).—This is the first of a series in which Mr. White hopes to deal with all that is interesting in the past of Ingleborough and the surrounding district. Standing, as it does, on the edge of the Vale of Lune, Ingleborough presents an impressive landmark, and has attracted round itself in every age a numerous population. Vestiges of all epochs abound, with perhaps the sole exception of the Palæolithic. Remains occur on every hand, comprising Neolithic, Ancient British, Roman, Romano-British, Scandinavian, Saxon, Norman, and those of more recent times. The writer, in company with Mr. J. C. Walker, of Ingleton, undertook a series of excavations upon the numerous tumuli, burrows, encampments, Roman roads, Roman camps, and other earthworks, and the result, to judge by the present pamphlet, is a most valuable contribution to local archæology. Mr. White has a theory that Ingleborough was at one time a great centre of Roman civilisation; and even if the proofs do not seem quite to establish this, yet evidence of Roman military and civil occupation is incontestible. The "Hermit" is possessed of a facile and poetic pen, and he draws the reader along in real reluctance to lay the volume down till the story of Ingleborough and its vanished past, which he surveys in all too rapid fashion, is concluded. Many good illustrations embellish all the pages of this interesting little pamphlet.

Students of local history and genealogists will be glad to possess a Transcript of the First Volume, 1538-1636, of the *Parish Register of Chesham, Bucks.*, with Introductory Notes, Appendices, and Index. By J. W. GARRETT-PEGGE (London: Elliot Stock, 15*s.* net) —The Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials for the parish of Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, is an interesting example of the not very numerous parish registers which date back to 1538, when parochial registration was established in this country, and which contain the records from that time to the present without break of more than a few years. The parish has been populous from very early times, several industries having been located there; so that, although in the middle of

the sixteenth century it was unusual for a mere market-town, away from any main line of communication between London and the provinces, to have as many as a thousand inhabitants, this number must have been nearly or quite reached at Chesham; and the population seems since to have increased rapidly and continuously. Hence the Parish Register is lengthy, and fills a number of volumes. It is the first and largest of these, covering the years 1538-1636, which has been transcribed and is now published. There are 8,528 entries, comprising 4,415 baptisms, 1,100 marriages, and 3,013 burials. The transcript is believed to be a trustworthy *verbatim et literatim* reproduction of the original, excepting a very few entries which have become illegible from blotting or fading of the ink, or which have been cut off the foot of a page in careless trimming of the leaves at some time when the volume was rebound. The Bishop's transcript for the period is very defective, but for the years to which it applies its readings have been collated with those of the Register, and the discrepancies have been noted. They are somewhat numerous, and show the value of the extant diocesan transcripts, not only in supplying the place of registers that have been lost or destroyed, but also as a means of checking the entries in those that have been preserved. The book is prefaced by some introductory notes on matters that may be of interest, and a number of appendices are included. It is furnished with a full index, in which all the occurrences of every name are entered, and the baptisms, marriages, and burials are distinguished.

Genealogists will also find the following work of great interest. *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America*, 1690-1811. For the use of the Genealogist, Biographer, Topographer, and Church Historian. Compiled, with Notes, by GERALD FOTHERGILL (London: Elliot Stock, 7*s.* 6*d.* net).—The great interest which is felt in the genealogy of America in the present day is evidenced by the large number of books which are issued relating to this subject. It is thirty years since Hotten published his *List of American Emigrants.* This present collection forms the most recent and important series of clues to American ancestry since that time; for the connecting links between American and English families that have been published from wills are only selections, and in no way exhaustive. The author of *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America* has made a compilation of over twelve hundred names of ministers and schoolmasters who received the King's Bounty of twenty pounds towards the cost of their passage to America. This work has been gleaned from the records of the Treasury, now preserved in the Public Record Office, and annotations from such works as Foster, Sprague,

etc., have been added. The introduction contains an interesting account of the origin of the passage-money, the early settlement of the Episcopal clergy in the New World, and some hints on pedigree research work. To facilitate easy reference, the book has an alphabetical arrangement. Amongst the names to be found in this work are: Goronwy Owen, premier poet of Wales; Dr. Cutler, Rector of Yale; Robert Stanser, Bishop of Nova Scotia; Wm. White, first American Bishop of the English line; Dr. Chas. Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, and first Colonial Bishop of the Church of England. This Dr. Inglis was grandfather of Sir J. E. W. Inglis, the defender of Lucknow; George Keith, first missionary to America of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and formerly a Quaker; and Aaron Cleveland, ancestor of President Grover Cleveland. The territory covered in this work includes the United States, Canada, and the West Indies. The book should appeal to English students as well as to the American genealogist, for its pages may throw light on the disappearance of many a name from a pedigree. Many errors in genealogical books of reference can be corrected from this work. For instance, Sprague says that "Tho. Craddock came to America in 1742," but he did not receive the bounty till 1743/4.

Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria, untersucht und beschreiben, von HERMANN THIERSCH. (Berlin: Georg Reimer. 30*s*. net.)—In this volume we have a splendid monograph, such as the Germans are famous for, on the subject of two ancient tombs discovered at Sidi Gaber, and in the gardens of Antonius, near Alexandria, in the course of recent engineering operations. The tombs are entered from the sea-level, and extend for some distance along the shore, on the face of the cliff, comprising several separate chambers, all containing monuments and objects of interest, while the colouring on the walls is rich in the extreme. The finest tomb is that situated in the gardens of Antonius, and consists of four chambers. The innermost chamber of this tomb is the most striking, since it contains a niche for offerings, surmounted by the sacred serpent intertwined upon itself, and the couch for the dead. The technical execution of the whole is good, if not unique, and the author compares the details with similar finds in Cyprus and Phœnicia, and even as far as Baalbek, and with the coloured decorative work at Pompeii. He would assign these two tombs to the period of the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Six beautiful coloured plates and ten illustrations in the text enhance the value of the author's careful and accurate description of this interesting discovery.

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AUGUST, 1905.

NOTES ON THE GRANGES OF MARGAM ABBEY.

By THOMAS GRAY, ESQ., V.D., J.P., M.Inst. C.E.

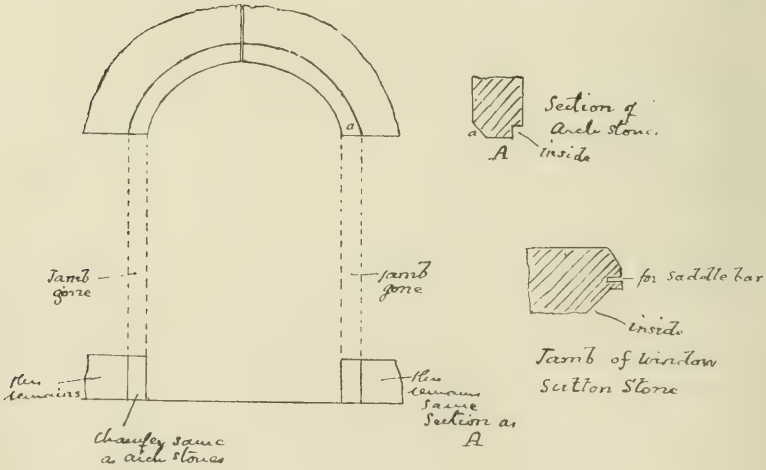
(*Continued from p.* 29.)

Part III.

Le Newe Grange.

THIS is marked on the Ordnance Map as the remains of a Grange. I believe it is the Grange known in the Abbey deeds as Le Newe Grange, and I think so from the sea-wall which is close to it being called "Gwal-y-Cwrt Newydd," Wall of the New Court or Grange. The building, parts of which remain, stands on the marsh, 16 ft. above Ordnance datum. Before the sea-walls were made, the tide flowing up the estuary—which I will refer to more particularly when treating of the Grange of Theodoricus, which stood on the opposite side—reached close up to it. This Grange, was a large building, and having a road—now called "Heol-y-deiliad," the Tenant's Road—leading straight from it to the Abbey, was probably the Home Farm, and supplied the Abbey with its produce; it has all round it the fertile

South Side of Le Newe Grange.



Details of Doorway of Le Newe Grange.

lands of the great plain, between the mountains and the sea-shore, named Morfa. Morfa means a marsh on, or near, the sea-shore.

The doorway in the Pine End has a flattened arch-stone, with chamfer, which was continued down the jamb shown in detailed sketch.[1] In the south side of the part or former room (of which the Pine End remains), which is 87 ft. long by about 30 ft. in width, are splayed window-openings, which had jambs of the same section as the westernmost window in the Grange of Theodoric. The Grange occupied three sides of a square, and each

Old Pine End, Le Newe Grange.

building is about the same size. The south wing had its doorway on the south side. Although no traces remain above ground, I believe the buildings extended northward, and exploration would undoubtedly discover them. The square holes in the Pine End are puzzling, unless they were for scaffolding. The openings in the south wall of the south part are merely narrow openings, splayed inwards, like those of a barn. The whole of the walls are spurred outward at the base. I found two

[1] Now broken into two parts.

of the window-jambs of Sutton stone, with holes for saddle-bars (see section in details above). I do not think this Grange was provided with a chapel, on account of its nearness to the Abbey, to which the *conversi* could go; and later, as I show further on, the chapel in the woods, "Cryke Chapel," was built for the tenants around the Abbey. The Old Pine End is known locally as Hen Biniwn, Welsh for Old Pine End.

Groes-wen Grange—Blessed Cross Grange.

This grange is pleasantly situated just below the opening of a dingle called Cwm Geifr—Goats' Valley. It stands about 120 ft. above sea-level or Ordnance datum.

Of this Grange we read but little, except the leases mentioned later on, until we come to the Crown Sale (*T.* 359; *C.* MCCCXLIV), to Sir Rice Manxell, Knight, in which the abbey church and various granges are sold for £938 6*s.* 8*d.* In this sale, Groes-wen appears as "White Crosse Grange." I have no doubt wen, *i.e.*, gwen—white—is used here in the sense of blessed, as it often is. In the first verse of the first Psalm, for instance, we have: "Gwyn ei fyd y gwr ni rodia y' nghynghor yr annuwiolion"—"Blessed is the man," etc. Here, then, is an example of gwyn—white—being used for blessed. Groes is feminine, therefore the feminine adjective, gwen, wen, is used: gwyn is masculine. In the "Breuddwyd Mair"—"Mary's Dream"—the Blessed Virgin is called Mam Wen Fair—"Blessed Mother Mary."

A little over half a mile to the east of Groes-wen Farm is a cross on the top of the mountain, made of embanked earth and grass-covered. The arms are of equal length, and measure 140 feet across. It is a very striking object when viewed from a little higher ground. The Ordnance Map has it, "Cross, on site of Cairn." Where the surveyors obtained the information that a cairn existed there, I know not. I have recently had some correspondence with the Ordnance officials, with the result that the words "on site of Cairn" are not to appear in future maps. The cross is evidently a memorial of an

important site or event, and it has given the name to places along the mountain side, on the top of which it is situated—Brombil mountain, a spur of the great Margam mountain. There is the village of Y Groes (The Cross); the farm near by, Lan-ton-y-groes;[1] the farm, Groes-wen; Groes-wen-ganol,[2] a cottage now, formerly probably a small farm; an ancient farm, now taken down, Groes-wen-bellaf,[3] and the little group of houses named Ton-y-groes.[4]

No tradition exists as to the cross, and therefore all ideas about it must be conjectural.[5]

In the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 599, we read, "Maesmawr is the name of the country in which the Monastery of Margam now is," so that all round Margam Abbey the land was called Maesmawr, probably after the forests were burnt by the Welsh, and so a large open space was created, as the name suggests. Terrific battles were fought between the Welsh and the Romans, "and the bones of the Romans slain by Caractacus whitened the land like snow" (*Iolo MSS.*). We also read of a prison built of these bones, made into lime; the walls were also covered with the bones of those slain in the fierce battles around. It was of circular form and wonderful magnitude, and the larger bones were on the outer face of the walls, and within the circle many prisons and other cells were under the ground, places for traitors to their country. This was called the prison of Oeth and Annoeth (open and concealed), in memorial of what the Cymry and Caradoc their King had done for their country and race, in defeating the Romans so easily when the trees from the shores of the Severn to the banks of the Towey had been burnt down. Could the prison have been on this spot, which long afterwards the monks sought to consecrate by making thereon this great cross? On the flat ground at the foot

[1] Lan-ton-y-groes. The sward inclosure of the Cross.

[2] Groes-wen-ganol. Middle Groes-wen.

[3] Groes-wen-bellaf. Further Groes-wen.

[4] Ton-y-groes. The green sward of the Cross.

[5] Since writing the above, I have heard there is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that the Cross marks, and as it were consecrates, the burial-place of a number of soldiers.

of the mountain and under the cross, one of the fields has the name Maesmawr; perhaps the last piece to be enclosed of the greater Maesmawr.

As I have mentioned before, important entrenchments, British and Roman, are found about two miles from this cross, and the grave of Bodvoc lies but 2½ miles east from it. Stirring scenes had doubtless taken place on these mountains, and I believe the monks made the cross to mark the burial-place of a large number of the slain. For, "in the course of a long time, the bones became decayed . . . and they were reduced to dust. Then they carried the remains and put them on the surface of the ploughed land, and from that time they had astonishing crops of wheat and barley. . ."[1] Even, as I think, they cut the cross on Bodvoc's sepulchral stone, knowing him to have been a Christian, from the formula, "hic jacet"—"here lies (the body of)—".

An interesting document referring to Groeswen is a lease—dated 20 years before the end—of the reversion of the grange called "Le White Crosse" (note the use of the French "le" for "the"), after the decease of Catherine Nerber, by David, Abbot of Margam and the Convent therein, to Gwladus verz (verch, daughter) Jeuan ap David ap Jankyn, for sixty years; bounded from the tenement of William ap Owen ap Jeuan ap Madoc towards "Row-theris," and from "Row-theris" to the tenement of Gwladus verz (verch, daughter) David ap Yorath, and from that as the "Gwosse" water goes down to the high road to the bridge there, and from that bridge to a stone set up in the Salt-marsh near the water "Raneth;" also a tenement called "Mays Melyn," and "Cay Lloyd," late held by Jeuan ap David Jacke, and then by Hugh ap John ap Jankyn, at a yearly rent of twelve and a-half crannocs of pure barley, (a cranock = 10 bushels), and for the said tenement 6*sh.* 8*d.* The said lessee to provide a *jentaculum* or dinner for the Convent yearly, easement for carriage of glebe to the sea, and a heriot.

Dated, February, 8 Henry VIII (A.D. 1517).

[1] *Iolo MSS.*

The tenements or cottages of William and of Gwladus verch David ap Yorath still exist, that of the latter being probably the oldest house on Margam Estate. The "Row-theris"—Rhiw-ddyrys (= the steep lane difficult of passage), is the same to-day, steep and narrow, with bushes and brambles crowding in on each side. The "Gwosse" is there, flowing from Cwm Geifr, but now nameless. Gwosse probably means Cwysig, a furrow or narrow ditch: this is characteristic of the brook, it flows on the marshes in a narrow ditch. The fields, "Mays Melyn" (Maes Melyn = yellow field) and Cay Lloyd (Cae Llwyd = gray field) are still known by these names. The stone set up by the water Raneth is, I believe, the stone at the end of the parapet wall of the little bridge over the "Raneth" (Raneth = Rheanell, a little stream, called locally Ranallt).

The providing the *jentaculum* can be understood; we are not told if the dinner was to be eaten at Groeswen or at Margam. But it is puzzling to know the meaning of the carriage of glebe to the sea.

In a deed, dated 9 August, A.D. 1575, Leyson Evans, of Neath, assigns to John Lawrens all his remainder of a lease of the Grange of Whitt-crosse, with Maes Melyne and Kay Lloyd, for an unexpired term, by deed of February, 8 Henry VIII, of the demise of the Abbot and Convent of the late Monastery of Margam.

In the *Margam and Penrice MSS.* is a lease by Sir Edward Mansell, of Oxwich, to John Lawrens, of "Whitcrosse Grainge," in the parish of Margam, for 21 years, "formerly in the tenure of Gwladis verz Jeuan ap David ap Jenkin." Dated 1st April, A.D. 1578.

Grugwallt Grange—"Cryke."

Grug — heather, and gallt, allt — steep: the steep, heather-clad mountain. The Norman scribe has taken great liberties with this word: he disdains the last syllable, and adds an "e" to the first, to make it short and crisp, or frisky, like the summer breezes on the top of the steep. The pronunciation of Grug approaches somewhat to "Crik," so he was not far out in the first

syllable. The farm is 550 ft. above sea-level. We find this Grange mentioned for the first time in the Crown Sale (*T.* 362; *C.* MCCCLI) to Rice Manxell, Knight, for £642 9*s.* 8*d.*, among other granges, manors, mills, and "landes." Lands in "Cryke," and the site of the water-mill called "Cryke Mylle," attested by the King at Terlying (Terling), county Essex, 5th August, 35 Hen. VIII, A.D. 1543. The King afterwards consented to accept from Sir Rice £300 in lieu of the £642 9*s.* 8*d.*, a good bargain for Sir Rice.

The buildings of Grugwallt Fawr are for the most part new, but the remains of the mill still exist, on the edge of the ornamental water, near the mansion of Miss Talbot. The streams from Cwm Philip, Cwm Maelog, and Cwm Bath, formerly flowed past and worked the mill, now they fall into the pond above the mill. Cwm Bath is named so from an ancient Holy Well, which still exists, but there is no tradition regarding it. It is singular that, although the monks were at Margam nearly 400 years, no tradition of any kind lives in the parish about them.

I used to think the Wendderi valley was the prettiest I had seen, but now I must give the apple to the sister, Cwm Maelwg. I had not visited Cwm Maelwg for twenty years, and "out of sight, out of mind;" but on visiting it again on the 4th of May this year, I was delighted with the fair aspect: all was still in the valleys, save for the bleat of lambs, the cuckoo's note, and the murmuring of the stream below. The trees were, for the most part, still in winter garb, but here and there one more venturesome than the other was clothed in vivid green, so bright against the brown of the bracken-covered hills—those rounded hills that seem so old and stern. From here the hills rise in gradual slope, and seem as if they wished to touch the skies; high up, clad only in the russet coloured bracken, the lower slopes, sombre in the gathering twilight, with deep dark green of fir trees. Here is a well quaintly named to express such thoughts as mine: "Ffynon-y-drych fannau"—"The Well of the Fair Aspect of Places." Up this valley passed the Roman soldiers on their way from the *Via Julia Maritima* of

Holy Well.
Called the Bath by the People.

The Ruins of Clyde Mills

the plains to the high lands; and nearly eight centuries later came the white-robed monks, who doubtless often viewed the same scene, and loved its quiet reposefulness, and left it with regret. As so frequently occurs in these valleys, the entrance is narrow, so that you seem shut in all round. This valley and Cwm Philip are just behind the monastery. I believe the valley is named Cwm Maelwg, after St. Maelwg. Probably one of the three saints to whom Capel Trisant was dedicated, as I have already stated.

Chapel of Cryke, Grugwallt.—In the woods under Grugwallt are the ruins of the little chapel, "Hen Eglwys," Old Church, and "Capel Papishod," Papist Chapel; "Papishod," a colloquial corruption of Papistiad, are the names given to it by the people. It is only two hundred yards in direct bee-line from the Abbey itself, and it is certainly much larger than would be needed for the *conversi* of the three Grugwallts, if three farms existed there as now. It is about 67 ft. in length by about 24 ft. in width, and had evidently been a handsome building; a beautiful piscina remained *in situ* until quite recently; now the bowl has disappeared, the two supporting pillars and the niche alone remaining. It stands about 300 ft. above sea-level, or Ordnance datum, and from it you look right down on to the Abbey Church and building.

I had long puzzled over the *raison d'être* of this chapel so near the Abbey Church; but I think its existence is due to the fact of the letting of the farms and granges of the estate. The *conversi* who worked the farms Grugwallt, Blaen Maelwg, Cwm Maelwg, Cwm, Ynis, Tyn Coed, and the Mill of Cryke, were doubtless accustomed, being in the near neighbourhood of the Abbey, to attend the Abbey Church; but when from 1470 A.D., and onwards to the end, they were replaced by secular tenants, it was found necessary to build a chapel for the latter, and near enough to be served by a priest from the Abbey. The chapel was placed high up on the mountain side, so as to be convenient for the hill-farmers. The perpendicular architecture of the chapel, too, agrees with

this date, and I think we are safe, therefore, in placing its erection at about A.D. 1470.

There would be the case of lepers, too; they would not be allowed within the Abbey precints, but would go to the lepers' window—if such there was—in the chapel of Cryke, and there receive the Holy Communion, passed to them through it. This, however, is pure conjecture.

Why do people call it Capel Papishod (Capel Papistiad), Papist Chapel? I believe it is so called from the probability of Mass being secretly celebrated in the chapel, owing to its secluded position, for those who refused to accept the new order of services in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Pope excommunicated the Queen, and called upon his adherents to resort no longer to the parish churches.

The orientation of the chapel is 13 deg. south of true east. That of the Abbey Church is due true east; Capel Trisant about due true east.

Here is an opportunity for ascertaining the dedication of the chapel, if there is anything in the idea of the orientation being in accordance with the rising of the sun on the Saint's Day to whom the dedication is made. Here are two churches: the Abbey Church, dedicated to St. Mary being due east, and the chapel, only 200 yards away to the north, being 13 deg. south of east, and the dedication unknown. The orientation due to St. David is nearest; thus in Wales, March 1st, 12 deg. south of east. Mr. Geo. Watson, of Penrith, in his *Orientation and Dedications of Ancient Churches in England and Wales*, proves, I think conclusively, that the ancient churches are not orientated, according to sunrise on the day of the saint to whom they were dedicated. I think the foundations were laid out to the rising sun on the day of the marking out. Mr. Watson gives a quotation from Aubrey, who quotes from Captain Silas Taylor: "In days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the Vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon when the Sun arose for the East, which makes the variation so that few stand true east, except those built between or at the two Equinoxes."

The Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage.[1]

So we find it styled in the Bull of Pope Urban III, directed to the Abbot and Brethren, in response to their request taking them under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope, and ordaining that the Monastic Order, in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict and the constitutions of the Cistercians, be kept for ever inviolate; and confirming to them certain grants, among which appears the "Grange of Theodoric's Hermitage, with its appurtenances." Dated at Verona, 18th November, A.D. 1186.

In the foundation charter, or the Inspeximus of it, rather, we find the Hermitage of Theodoric mentioned as a landmark in the description of the boundary, as we have seen in the first chapter of these notes. Seeing the Abbey was founded in A.D. 1147 (*Annales de Margan*, quoted before), the Hermitage, as a monastic establishment, had evidently been superseded by the Cistercian Abbey, for, in the Papal Bull thirty-nine years after the founding of the Abbey, we find it styled a Grange.

In 1894 I was so fortunate as to receive from Miss Talbot of Margam, vol. i of the *Margam and Penrice MSS.*, by Dr. de Gray Birch, a catalogue and description of the monastic deeds and other documents which belonged to the muniment chest of the Abbey. For the first time I knew of the existence at one time in the parish of the Hermitage of Theodoricus, and that its site was near the mouth of the Avan (or Afan) River, and just to the east of it. The wording of the charter makes these points clear: "That is to say, all the lands which extend between Kenfig, and the further bank of the water of the further Afan, which is to the west of the Hermitage of Theodoricus *as the water aforesaid descends from the mountains.*" This describes the extent of the lands along the lowlands on the sea shore. "All this land I grant to the monks *as it goes through the mountains*, namely, *from the source of Kenefeg Water between the source of Rudelf*

[1] See "The Hermitage of Theodoric and Site of Pendar" for plan of building, tiles, piscina, etc., *Arch. Camb.*, April, 1903.

(Ffrwdwyllt), and *Gelli-fret* (Gelli-vrîth)[1] *on to Red-Kewelthi* (Rhyd Gyfylchu), *that is the ford of Kewelthi, into Aven.*" (The italics are mine). The latter part describes the boundaries among the hills and at the rivers' sources.

Several years ago I found tile-stones among the sand-dunes near the old mouth of the Afan, and later some green glazed earthenware tiles, some flat and some ridge or crest tiles. In 1898 I had the sand cleared off from a pile of stones, and found a building 85 ft. in length. I was unable to get to the floor, by reason of water preventing further progress unless a pump was used. I also, two years ago found, among the ruins at the east end, part of a piscina or holy-water stoup, clearly showing the existence of a chapel at the Grange.

The upper windows, three in number, were dormer windows; inside of each there was a recess, very like the seats to be seen in old castles; but these, of course, were too narrow for that. The stone-work of the centre one is superior to that of the other two, and perhaps it shows this to have been the guest-chamber.

The quoins, jambs of the windows, and the mullion of the easternmost window are of green Collwn or Quarella (Bridgend) stone.

The iron stanchions and saddle-bars in the westernmost window, and in the little centre window, are almost perfect, as also are the shutter-hooks still remaining inside the easternmost window. The small window west of the doorway is 10 in. wide by 7 in. high; it has three iron stanchions and one saddle-bar.

The stone steps leading from the basement are very narrow, 7 in. tread and 7 in. rise; through the top step runs a square hole; it probably was used for holding the upper part of a hand-rail, which would be necessary with such narrow steps.

I found traces of walls quite 100 yards away from the

[1] Gelli-vrîth = "variegated grove," *i.e.*, varying tints of the trees. One of the Margam deeds is endorsed, 17th seventeenth-century handwriting: "Pant-y-Vlayddast id est Gethlifreth," "the hollow of the female wolf, that is Gethli-freth."

main building, showing that the outbuildings were extensive.

The north walls of the building are covered by a high bank of sand, and I have made no attempt to uncover them as yet.

The line of the front of the building is 12 deg. north of east, and would be the orientation of the chapel at the east end.

The green-glazed ridge tiles are similar to those found at Llantwit Major Church (see in the April number, 1900, of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, the Paper by Mr. G. E. Halliday). Similar tiles were found in Nicholaston Church, Gower (Davies' *West Gower*, vol. iv, plate, opposite p. 496), and at Cardiff Castle.

I came to the conclusion that these ruins, situated as they are in the position stated in the Charters, and for other reasons which I will give further on, are those of the Grange of the Hermitage of Theodoric, buried and hidden from human eyes for well-nigh six hundred years.

The situation of the Hermitage was a strange one, and lonely. It stood on almost the extreme point of a long, narrow strip of land, having the Severn Sea on the west side and an estuary on the east, up which the tide raced for three miles, measuring from the opening on the shore between the sand-hills. Lonely as the spot was, it seems to have been such as appealed to the hermit's ideal: St. Cadoc searched for solitary places suitable for hermitages, and walked on one occasion about the banks of the River Neath.[1] Coch the hermit owned land in the Marsh of Afan, near the shore.[2] Another hermit, Ranulf, held the fishery of Sub-Pul-Canan on the shore near Briton Ferry.[3] Apparently the hermits chose their dwelling-places near the sea-shore.

Having seen the plan of the Grange, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the eminent architect and antiquary, wrote me: "The building you have unearthed seems to be an interesting one, and, so far as I can judge from the

[1] Rees, *Cambro-British Saints.*

[2] *Margam MSS.*

[3] See Dr. Birch, *Neath Abbey*, p. 42. Charter of Henry de Newburgh.

drawing, it may be of the first half of the fourteenth century. It is not a hermitage in the usual sense of the word; but it seems to have been a dwelling-house of some sort, and may have belonged to a Grange, or a cell of the smaller sort." In writing Mr. Micklethwaite, I should have explained that the ruins were those of the Grange and not the Hermitage.

He also wrote me, in regard to the holy-water stoup: "The fragment you have found may belong either to a holy-water stoup or to a piscina. Very likely the circle of the bowl was completed under a niche in the wall. There is no detail to fix the date exactly, but I think it not earlier than the thirteenth century, and it may well be the fourteenth." I am inclined to fix the date of the Grange at near A.D. 1227, for the reason that in that year, according to the *Annales de Margan*, the Welsh cleared the Grange of Theodore, burnt several horses and great flocks of sheep, and I think the dwelling-house may have been—and probably was—destroyed, to be rebuilt, then or later, as we see it now. The south-west window-jambs are of about this date; see section of window-jamb in Le Newe Grange, which is similar.

Several charters, in describing the limits of the Abbey lands, mention the Hermitage as a landmark. The latest is one by Richard, Earl of Gloucester, between A.D. 1246 and A.D. 1249. From this date we find it no more mentioned; but we find in a detailed account of the Abbey Granges and other documents, the reason probably for this disappearance of the well-known landmark. This detailed account was drawn up in A.D. 1326, by the Abbot of Margam for the Abbot of Clairvaux, in obedience to the mandates of the Apostolic See, and of Clairvaux. It is followed by complaints of losses caused by mortality, wars, nearness to the high road; and that no small part of the land adjacent to the shore is subject to innundation of sand.

A Bull of Pope Urban VI, addressed to the Bishop of Llandaff, sanctions the appropriation of the patronage of the Church of Aven (Aberavan) by the Abbey, because, among other things, the Abbey lands and possessions adjacent to the sea-shore had become unfruitful, owing

to inroads of the sea (doubtless sand is meant). Dated 17th July, A.D. 1383.

For the same reason, the Abbey was allowed to appropriate the church of Penllyn.

I conclude from the evidence that the Grange was overwhelmed by sand, and hidden effectually, from about A.D. 1300, to A.D. 1898, a period of close upon six hundred years. I think the building was quickly covered up by the sand. Dividing two of the upper-storey rooms, I found a clay partition 3 ins. thick, faced on each side with mortar. This was still standing, kept up by the sand, although the floor had disappeared. Had the building remained exposed to rain and wind, this partition would soon have collapsed. I can only account for it remaining in position by the sand filling up the building very quickly. The iron-work, too, has apparently been preserved by being covered and protected from the saline winds from the sea, so destructive to ironwork.

A tradition is mentioned in Davies' *West Gower*, as existing in Gower, which somewhat confirms the date I have given to the be-sanding of the Grange. In a grant, dated June, A.D. 1317, Sir William de Breos, Lord of the Seigniory of Gower, gives liberty to his huntsman William, and Joan, his wife, to take hares, rabbits, and foxes, in the sand-burrows of Penard. Mr. Davies remarks on this: "Here, then, we have indisputable evidence that, in A.D. 1317, Penard burrows existed as a fact. The tradition is, that it was formed by a terrible storm, all in one night, and . . . the conclusion is almost irresistible that both these burrows (Penard and Penmaen) were formed at the same time, and the church and village of Stedworlango were overwhelmed when the sandstorm occurred, and consequently the be-sanding of these two churches (Penard and Penmaen) must have taken place previous to A.D. 1317."

The Grange and Penard are only separated by thirteen miles, and it seems probable that the same storm covered up the Grange of the Hermitage.

In the Bull of Pope Urban VII, before referred to, one of the clauses refers to the heavy debts of the Abbey, which made it impossible for it to repair its buildings,

now dilapidated by the "horrida ventorum intemperies"—dreadful unseasonableness of gales, which had thrown down or rendered insecure the greater part of them.

I believe (see the "Hermitage of Theodoric and the Site of Pendar," *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1903) the hermitage was founded by Theodoricus, the nephew of Sir Richard de Granavilla and of Sir Robert Fitz-hamon. Seeing the hermitage was in Margam, which became the dower land of Mabel, or Mabila, the daughter of Sir Robert, and Theodoric's cousin, it seems to me likely that the existence there of the hermitage, a beginning of monastic life, induced the giving of Margam to the monks of Clairvaux, for the establishment of a larger monastic establishment, similar to that of Neath Abbey, founded and endowed by Theodoric's uncle, Sir Richard. It is said by some that Mabila was the only daughter of Sir Robert Fitz-hamon; by others that he had four daughters. I think the latter is the more probable, as we are told that two embraced the religious life—became nuns. Probably the other died, and so practically Mabila was the only daughter, being "in the world," and thus she became his heiress. Mabel is called Mabli in *Iolo P. S.*, p. 631.

At high tide, the Grange of Theodoric and Le Newe Grange were separated by a width of tidal water of half a mile, and truly picturesque the scene must have been on a calm summer's day, with the background of Margam mountain rising abruptly from the plain several hundred feet, and clad with oaks right up to the summit, with this stretch of water on the plain. We have a picture of this in the *Beaufort Progress*, A.D. 1684: "Margham is a noble seat . . . Its scituation is among excellent springs . . . at the foot of prodigious high hilles of woods, shelter for ye Deere, about a mile distant from an arm of the Sea, parting this shore and the County of Cornwall, below which, and washed almost round with salt water, is a Marsh whereunto the Deer (ye tide being low) resort much by swimming, and thrive to an extraordinary weight and fatness as I never saw the like . . ."

I think the writer means the tide being high instead of low. This was the marsh on which the Grange stood.

In winter, the Hermitage itself, before any of the Granges were built, and before the Abbey rose and brought its monks, must have been lonely in the extreme, and the scene most weird and desolate. The roaring tide on one side, and the tidal water of the estuary close up on the other, the circling, wheeling gulls and other sea-birds with their raucous cries, the spindrift scudding past the dwelling, the strange, continuous roar or din which we hear at times, as the breakers fall and dash upon the hard, flat sands in rapid succession : these sounds echoed back from the mountains, and all together mingled, seem to fill the bowl of heaven with a curious roar, which creates a feeling akin to awe, and must in those lonely days have added to the sense of desolation.

I believe, although it is difficult to ascertain the rule of life of the hermits, that they lived together as conventual bodies, for we have the names of some, contemporaneous, and probably living together at this hermitage —Theodoric, Meiler, and Coch.

The late Mr. J. Rowland Phillips, in his concise history of Glamorgan, writes, "that at Kenfig, for instance, a great tract of land had been swept away and rendered waste by repeated sand-storms of unusual magnitude. The first of which there is any account was a great storm in the time of Richard II, when an unprecedented high tide, swollen and infuriated by a great wind, devastated the shore, carrying away lands and houses, and leaving in their places nothing but sand-hills. The town suffered much, houses were overwhelmed, the site of the church of Towin disappeared." Mr. Phillips must refer to the letter written by King Richard II, Clark C.C.C., from the Patent Rolls of the 8th year of his reign, 28th October, A.D. 1384, in which he sets forth that the Abbot of Margam had delivered a petition showing how Edward le Despenser, late Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, out of consideration for the losses which the sand-storms had inflicted on the Abbey, had bestowed on it the advowson of Aberavon Church, without first obtaining the Royal license. Subsequently, the Abbey obtained Papal permission to appropriate, but the Crown, by a suit in the Court of Common Pleas, recovered the advowson under

the provisions of the Statute of Mortmain ; yet the King, hereby desiring to favour the monks, in consideration of their expenses incurred in obtaining the licence of appropriation, grants the advowson, at the special request of Thomas, Bishop of Llandaff, Royal Confessor, for the sake of the King himself and heirs, and of the realm of England, and of his soul after death, and the souls of his progenitors and heirs, and of all faithful deceased persons.

I have little doubt, for the reason I have given before, that the sand-storm occurred about A.D. 1300. Tradition has it that the be-sanding of Kenfig took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; but Leland, in A.D. 1540, already found town and castle (Fitz-hamon's) "shoked with sand." Besides the damage done by the sands of the Severn Sea, Owen Glyndwr, A.D. 1402, caused the Abbey great loss. The claims of Owen were opposed by the Cistercians, and his only friends among the Abbeys were the Franciscans. Owen, therefore, damaged the property and buildings of the chief ecclesiastical foundations in his war in Glamorgan.

If the sand did much damage to lands near the seashore it also did some good to the Abbey, for the dunes became thickly populated by rabbits, as they are to this day ; and we find a grant (*T.* 220 ; *C.* MCLXVII) by Hugh le Despenser, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, to Margam, of free warren in their rabbit warren of Berwes, between the river of Avene and Kenefeg on the west side as far as the sea, and on the east side just as the main road extends from Aberavon to Kenfig. 16 Feb., 1344, A.D., endorsed : "The grant of a warren or connigry to be betwixt Avan and Kenfeg upon the borroes."

The monks evidently thought rabbit pie an agreeable change after so much venison pasty.

The Abbey had the right of wreck along the shore, but this was at times disputed. This right still belongs to the owner of Margam estate. The right had been given and confirmed by the Earl of Gloucester, soon after the foundation of the Abbey. A record exists of the proceedings (*T.* 196 ; *C.* MLXXXV) in the Glamorgan County Court, in which a case was tried as to this right.

The Abbot complained that the Earl of Gloucester's

officers had seized a wreck between Avene and Kenefeg. The jury found for the Abbot: 4th June, A.D., 1313. The deed is endorsed: "An inquisicion wherin hit is found that thobbot of Margan oweght to haue wrekkes betwyxt Avon and Kenefeg." Another case arose in A.D. 1333, and was tried in the Glamorgan County Court (*T.*210; *C.* MCXLII), before John de Mounteney, Sheriff of Glamorgan, at Cardiff, on the 18th January, A.D. 1333. John Louel, Steward of Margam Abbey, was charged with appropriating a boat valued at 40*s.*, three bales of wool, 60*s.*, a small coffer, and a cask worth 8*d.* The property was claimed by Lord William La Zouche, Lord of Glamorgan and Morgannok. The Steward pleaded that the Abbot and his predecessors had immemorial right of wreck there, *a tempore quo non extat memoria.* The verdict was given in favour of the Abbot.

I have already mentioned the detailed account (*T.* 211; *C.* MCXLIII), drawn up by the Abbot, of the Grange's lands and property of the Abbey, in obedience to an Apostolic mandate in A.D. 1326. In it we find, among other matters, the number of monks and *conversi* inhabiting the Abbey, and, I suppose, in the case of the latter, the Granges. The Abbot states he is required to support thirty-eight monks and forty *conversi*: so with servants and guests the establishment must have been an extensive and costly one. He complains that the Abbey, being on the high road, is continually overrun with rich and poor strangers, as there are no other places of refuge near.

This interesting document was sealed in the presence of twelve seniors of the house, before the Abbot of Neeth (Neath) and Bernard, monk of Clairvaux, Bachelor of Theology.

The Grange of Llanbugeilydd.

"The Grange of the shepherd's inclosure." It is strange that the name of this extensive farm had completely disappeared. I think the reason for this is, that we find from the Margam MSS. the farm was divided up and the fields added to other farms. The homestead, too, if I am right in locating its site, was turned into cottages now known as Ton-y-Groes. I find from old people that these

cottages formed at one time a farm homestead. Judging therefore from this, and the fact of the fields belonging to it being in the neighbourhood of the cottages, I feel I am justified in locating its site at Ton-y-Groes.

Several deeds leasing lands, part of Lanvegely, appear.

The earliest date I find Llanbugeilydd mentioned is A.D. 1520, and the latest in the counterpart of a lease by the Rt. Hon. Thomas, Lord Mansel, Baron of Margam, P.C., to James ap John of Avan, of two closes of land

Part of Llanbugeilydd Grange.

called Maes-y-Cwrt—field of the Court or Grange—six acres, at Lanvegely, Lordship of Hafod-y-Porth. 29 Sept., A.D. 1712.

In one document the house is termed a mansion, and in another the Chapel of Lanvigelethe is mentioned: no remains of the chapel exist.

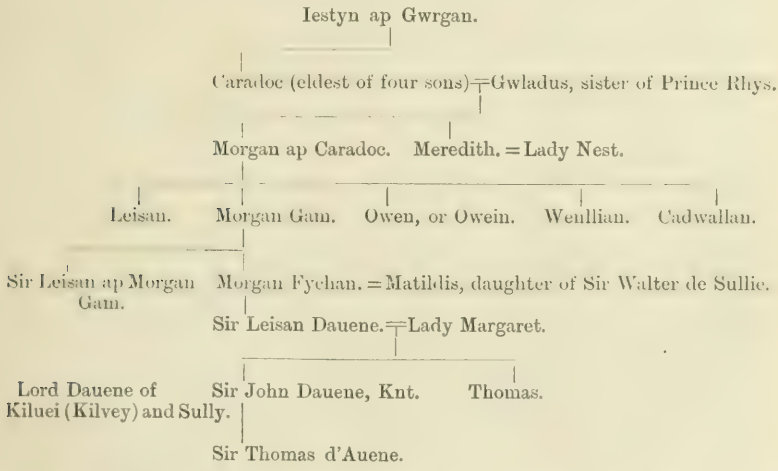
In Maes-y-Cwrt to-day, on the land of the Grange of the shepherd's inclosure, near the site of an old barn, which I used when a boy to pass at night in fear and trembling — for tramps resorted there — stands "The Shepherd's Inclosure," a magnificent Early English church,

dedicated to St. Theodore, built by Miss Talbot in A.D. 1897; and so although the name Llanbugeilydd had been lost, "The Shepherds' Inclosure" is there.

The Lords of Afan, the descendants of Iestyn ap Gwrgan, were, as we have seen, benefactors of Margam Abbey. They lived at Aberavan Castle, and so were near neighbours of the Lord Abbot. For these reasons, I give some account of them in these notes.

Iestyn ap Gwrgan was descended from Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan. He lost his lands when Fitzhamon conquered Glamorgan, but these were in part restored to his son Caradoc. The Lords of Afan were purely Welsh, but they adopted Norman customs, and used large seals bearing their effigies in armour on horseback. They bore the de Clare arms: *or.*, three chevrons *gules;* crest, the "Agnus Dei"—the Lamb and Flag.

THE D'AVENE PEDIGREE.



In A.D. 1151, Aberavan Castle was taken and destroyed by Madoc ap Meredydd, Prince of Powys. Morgan ap Caradoc thereupon fled, and placed himself under the protection of William, Earl of Gloucester. Henceforth, though Caradoc's descendants were more secure, they had less independence—they became subject to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

These lords gave to the Abbey lands in the Afan

March, in Resolven, in Newcastle (Bridgend), the common of pastures between the rivers Neath and Afan, at Llanfeithun, Baiden, and Cefn Machen, at the confluence of the Ogmore and Garw rivers.

Wenllian, too, the daughter of Morgan ap Caradoc, gave lands to the Abbey.

One of them gave himself, with his lands, and was received into full fraternity of Margam Abbey; that is, he became a monk. He was Meredydd, son of Caradoc.

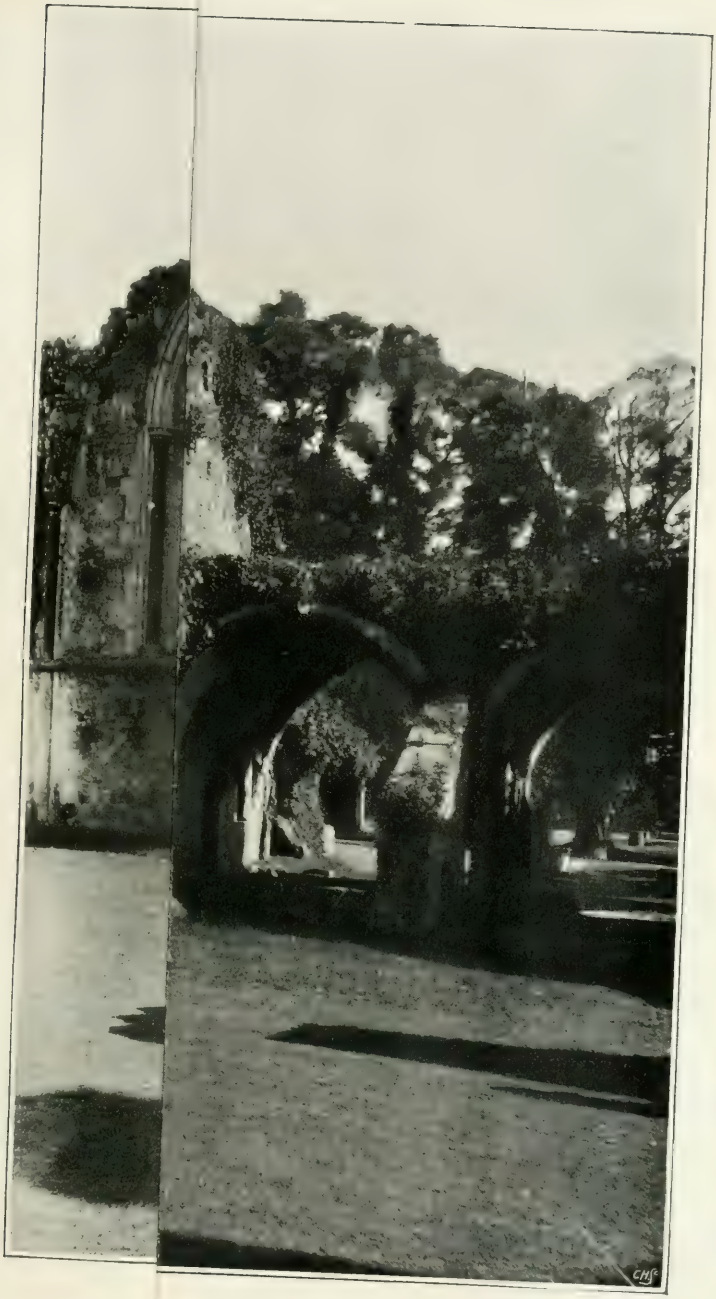
Although the Lords of Afan gave lands to the Abbey, there were frequent dissensions between them and the Abbots. Morgan Gam—Morgan the Crooked—gave lands to the Abbey, but he frequently did injury to its possessions. At times he made his peace with the monks, but soon forgot his promises.

Leisan, too, had quarrels with the Abbot, but he was not so violent as Morgan. In one deed he confirms his father's gifts, and restores to the monks the land at Newcastle, which he had unjustly ploughed and sown. In another he undertakes not to vex the monks by demanding his rents beforehand, and in another he undertakes not to molest the monks in the Avene waters: nor drive away their sheep, nor trouble them in their cultivated lands in the fee of Newcastle, notwithstanding he may be making war with others for the said Newcastle.

A most interesting document exists among the Margam and Penrice MSS. (*C.* DCCXXXIII), which gives us Leisan's deed of confirmation of his father's and others' grants to Margam, and of his determination to end all quarrels with the Abbot and Convent of Margam.

At this peace-making there was, doubtless, a picturesque scene in the Abbey church. Leisan, come of a princely line, was the chief figure in the ceremony, and one can picture the scene as he stood at the high altar swearing that in future there shall be no more dissentions between the monks and himself; touching with his hand the most Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most precious wood of the True Cross, and the reliques of the holy Apostles, holy martyrs, holy confessors, and holy virgins.

I give Leisan's charter, translated from the Latin:—



Part of Chancel and Aumbry. Chapter-house with Central Column.

South Transept of Ruined Part of Abbey Church

Part of Chancel on Left. Base of Pillar, showing junction of Norman and Early English Styles. Base of Altar, Piscina, and Aumbry. Chapter-house with Central Column.

Know all present and to come, that I, Leisan, son of Morgan, have quitted all claims, quarrels, and exactions which I hitherto had against the house of Margan, concerning all lands and tenements which the monks of that house hold of me and my men in my fee. Moreover, also, by this my present charter, I have confirmed to them all the concessions and agreements, and all the charters, which Morgan son of Caradoc and Audoenus, my brother, and our men, made to the same monks, and all the tenements which they gave or sold to them, as well in Pultimor (Pwll du mawr) and the marsh of Avene, as in the territory of Newcastle, and in all other places under the mountains and upon the mountains, that they may have and hold all these freely and quietly for ever, as any alms can be well and freely held, as the charters of my father and brother and our men testify. And especially the land of Walter Lageles, which my father gave to the house of Margan in alms. And I, Leisan, sane and prudent, have sworn with my own hand upon the *Sanctuaria* of the monastery, that is to say, upon the most sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and upon the most precious wood of the True Cross, and upon the relics of the holy Apostles, and holy martyrs, and holy confessors, and holy virgins, the relics of all which were contained in one Cross; upon all these, placed upon the great altar, as they were expressly and manifestly named to me, I have sworn, that for the future I will not dispossess them of any tenement of theirs. . . . nor will I hinder . . . to plough, sow, hoe, mow their lands, or to carry, collect, and take away, or to reap and carry their meadows, or to do their own will concerning all their own affairs; nor will I bring upon them, or cause or permit to be brought upon them, any damage concerning their stud of horses, or concerning all their other animals which they have or shall have, in all their pastures which they have in my fee, on account of any anger which I might have had, or perchance shall have against them. And if they shall catch me a delinquent in anything, or if they do not do me that which by law they ought to do, I will show it to the bailiffs, and I will undertake to make amends therefor by the judgment of the court. And I have sworn that I will observe all these things to the monks aforesaid, during the whole of my life. These being witnesses: Walter de Sullie, then Sheriff of Glamorgan, Richard Flaman, Peter le Butiller, William de Cantilupe, Walter Luvel, Stephen, clerk of Kenfig, Thomas Albas de Kenefeg, Alaithur, Rees Goch, Griffin son of Knaithur, and many others. Endorsed—"General confirmation of Leisan."

Leisan, after he had sworn and recited the deed, knelt in front of the Abbot, and received his blessing.[1]

[1] One of Leisan's seals shows the Abbot of Margam on the Abbey throne blessing Leisan with uplifted hand, Leisan kneeling. The Abbot of Margam was mitred, and sat in the House of Lords.

Leisan's seal to this document is still appended.—Date, *circa* A.D. 1213.

✠ SIGILLWM . LEISAUN . FILLI . MO[RG]AN.

No doubt the day was afterwards given up to rejoicings, for it was an important event, and the Abbey would extend its hospitality to all comers.

It is long since that day, for well-nigh seven hundred summers have passed in their flight—gone in silence, as have all who rejoiced then. It is a long time, yet we to-day can pass through the same door of the old church which Leisan passed through, we can see the same pillars he looked on, as he passed up the church nave. We can stand where he stood, when he touched the most precious wood of the True Cross and the reliques of the Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. But it is on sward we stand, not on the altar step. The high altar is gone with its cross and the relics; the organ is silent, gone, too; the silver dove with golden pyx no longer hangs there waiting, with the precious food for those about to go on their last long journey. All are gone save some walls in ruins, with the Abbot's doorway, and save the dead Abbots lying there. What a glorious chancel it must have been—and now!

I wonder if the monks still come and gaze at so much desolation.

I here offer my grateful thanks to Dr. de Gray Birch for allowing me to draw so freely from his valuable works on Margam; to Mr. Edward Roberts, of Swansea, for his aid in place-names — in place-name researches he is *facile princeps;* to Lieut.-Col. David, Maesgwyn; and to Mr. Lipscomb, Margam, for kind help.

NOTE.—Since I wrote Part I of these Notes, I have discovered the location of Terrys Grange (see vol. lix, p. 166). The buildings of the Grange no longer exist, but its lands are in Hafod-y-Porth, on Mynydd Embroch. Terrys stands for Ty Rhŷs. The ruins of a small building on the lands of the Grange are called Ty Rhŷs-yr-allt.

ERRATA.

Part I, vol. lix, p. 181, line 9 from bottom, *for* "east," *read* "west."

Part II, p. 15, note 2, line 4, *for* "There is," *read* "There are." P. 16, note 1, line 1, *for* "Carta Morgian," *read* "Carta Morgani."

CAN VOTIVE OFFERINGS BE TREASURE TROVE?

(*Read* 18*th May*, 1904.)

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P.

N a former occasion[1] I had the honour of submitting to your consideration a Paper on the English law of Treasure Trove, as it is affected by the decision of Mr. Justice Farwell in the case of the Attorney-General *v.* the Trustees of the British Museum: in reference to the find of gold articles turned up by the plough in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, in the County of Londonderry, and claimed by the Crown as Treasure Trove; the defence being that these articles must have been votive offerings to a river deity, and as such not coming within the definition of that branch of the Royal Prerogative.

The learned judge decided in favour of the Crown, on the ground that the circumstances under which the discovery was made showed a *prima fâcie* title in the Crown, which was not rebutted by the evidence given in support of the defence, which was deficient in not showing the existence of an Irish sea god—of a custom to make votive offerings in Ireland during the period suggested (between 300 B.C. and 700 A.D.), and the existence of kings or chiefs who would be likely to make such votive offerings; and he did not, therefore, express any opinion on a point raised by the Attorney-General that votive

[1] 16th Dec., 1903.

offerings as such may be Treasure Trove. It is this question I now submit for your consideration.

In order to bring any articles of gold or silver within the definition of Treasure Trove (as I showed in my previous Paper), they must have been concealed, or hidden, under circumstances which lead to the presumption that the owner intended to resume possession. "But (in the language of Mr. Justice Farwell) if the owner casually lost the treasure, or purposely parted with it in such a manner that it is evident he intended to abandon the property altogether, and did not purpose to resume it on another occasion, the first finder is entitled to the property as against everyone but the owner, and the King's prerogative does not in this respect obtain."

It is, therefore, the intention of the owner to be gathered from the circumstances which must be the guide to the solution of the question before us; and this involves an inquiry into the nature and object of votive offerings.

Votive offerings are the natural outcome of those religious instincts which, from the earliest period of the untutored primitive man down to the period of the philosophical religions of more civilised states, found the outward expression of their hopes and fears idealised into "the Lords many and Gods many" of heathen mythology; and which, after the advent of Christianity, have left their influence in the superstitious ideas and practices which are still to be found interwoven with belief in a more spiritual faith.

Commencing with the direct worship of material objects, it was afterwards transferred to tutelary deities who were supposed to control the forces of nature, and who could be appeased by gifts and intercession to promote the wishes and avenge the wrongs of their suppliants: from which arose a system of mythology with a recognised hierarchy and ritual.

The instances of these gifts throughout the pages of ancient literature are too many to be other than casually alluded to; but reference to a few of them may help to explain the motives which prompted these

gifts, and so help to solve the problem we have taken in hand.

Braund, in his *Popular Antiquities*,[1] quoting the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii, p. 463, says: "We read the same credulity that gives air-formed inhabitants to Green Hillocks and Solitary Groves, has given their portion of genii to Rivers and Fountains. The presiding spirit of that element in Celtic Mythology was called Neithe. The primitive of this word signifies to wash or purify with water. To this day Fountains are regarded with veneration over every part of the Highlands. The sick who resort to them for health address their vows to the presiding powers, and offer presents to conciliate their favour. These presents generally consist of a small piece of money, or a few fragrant flowers. The vulgar, in many parts of the Highlands, even at present, not only pay a sacred regard to particular Fountains, but are firmly persuaded that certain Lakes are inhabited by Spirits. In Strathspey there is a lake called "Lochrian Spioradan," the "Lake of Spirits." Two frequently make their appearance: the Horse, and the Bull of the Water. The Mermaid is another."

Macaulay, in his *History of St. Kilda* (p. 95), speaking of a consecrated well in that island called "Tobirninolonddh," or "the Spring of divers Virtues," says that "near the Fountain stood an altar on which the distressed votaries laid down their oblations. Before they could touch sacred water with any prospect of success, it was their constant practice to address the Genius of the place with supplication and prayers. No one approached him with empty hands. But the Devotees were abundantly frugal. The offerings presented by them were the poorest acknowledgments that could be made to a superior Being from whom they had either hopes or fears: shells and pebbles, bags of linen or stuffs worn out, pins, needles, or rusty nails, were generally all the tribute that was paid; and sometimes, though rarely enough, copper coins of the smallest value."

In the recent excavations made in the buried ruins of

[1] Vol. ii, p. 266 (n.), Ed. 1813, by Henry Ellis.

Khotan were found painted tablets of wood, discovered in the ruined temples of Dandau Uilig, as undoubtedly still in the same position in which they had been originally deposited as the votive offerings of pious worshippers.[1]

Readers of Latin and Greek classics will call to mind the reference by Horace in his Ode to Pyrrha,[2] to the custom of shipwrecked mariners, "who had 'scaped the whelming tide," hanging up their dripping vests in Neptune's Temple: a custom still common at seaports on the Continent; and the presentation of a kid to the Brundusian fountain on its dedication.[3] There was also the custom of placing an obolus in the mouth of a corpse, as a fee to "that grim ferryman which poets write of," for a safe passage "over the melancholy flood." And the Greeks frequently dedicated a lock of their hair to rivers, of which the vow of Peleus to offer his son Achilles' yellow hair to the River Spercius, if he returned home in safety, is a well-known example: though the performance of that vow was frustrated by Achilles, at the obsequies of Patroclus, by himself cutting off his golden locks, and placing them in his friend's hands to accompany him to the Stygian shore, on his (Achilles') premonition that he should not return to his native land.[4] And at the present day, in those far-off wilds not yet reached by civilisation, but only occasionally visited by explorers, the ignorance and primitive beliefs still await their development to a higher level. The late Mary Kingsley, in her *West African Studies*,[5] says: "You will see him [the native] bending over the face of a river, talking to its spirit with proper incantations; asking it, when it meets a man who is an enemy of his, to upset his canoe or drown him; or asking it to carry down with it some curse to the village below, which has angered him; and in a thousand other ways he shows you what he believes, if you will watch him patiently."

[1] Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, Chinese Turkestan* [1903].

[2] Lib. I, Ode v.

[3] Lib. III, Ode xiii

[4] *Il.*, Lib. XXIII, v. 135 *et seqq.*

[5] P. 130.

But the following looks like the dawn of better instinct. She goes on to say :—[1]

"It is a low-down thing to dig up your father—*i.e.*, open his grave, and take away the things in it that have been given him. It will get you cut by respectable people, and rude people, when there is a market-place row on, will mention it freely; but it won't bring on a devastating outbreak of small pox in the whole district."

Mr. H. Risley, in his Report on the last Indian Census, says: "At the time of the spring equinox there is a festival called Sri Paucharmi, when it is incumbent on every religious-minded person to worship the implements or insignia of the vocation by which he lives; and that every year, when the Government of India moves from Simla to Calcutta, there go with it, as orderlies or *chaprasis*, a number of cultivators from the hills round about Simla, who are employed to carry about despatch-boxes, and to attend upon the various grades of officials in that great bureaucracy. The ritual observed at the festival which was held two years ago, consisted of an office despatch-box, which served as an altar, in the centre of which was placed, as the principal fetish, a common English glass ink-pot, with a screw top; and round it were arranged various sorts of stationery and other clerkly paraphernalia used in the Government offices, and the whole was festooned with abundant coils of red tape." Politic subjects of a mighty empire, who, in default of opportunity of worshipping "the means whereby they live," join in a ritual symbolical of the official routine in which they and their rulers are entangled!

Will, then, the circumstances under which gold and silver found in the earth after long deposit, in the absence of any known owner, raise any presumption, in the absense of direct proof, that votive offerings can be included in this branch of the Royal Prerogative? To answer this question, reference must be made to that part of the recent judgment, which says that "the Crown must first prove a *prima fâcie* case; but, when they have done so, the defendants must defeat that title by producing a

[1] P. 135.

better title." If, therefore, the Crown shows that the things found were concealed, and no owner is known, the evidence is sufficient to give the Crown a title ; unless it is rebutted by facts showing or raising a judicial presumption that there had been an abandonment by the owner of his own right,[1] without any intention of resuming possession. This condition applies to the case of votive offerings which cannot, therefore, belong to the Crown. This is particularly exemplified in the case of things found in tombs, intended for the use of the deceased in his future existence, which were not concealed in the proper sense of the term, but deposited as his own property, or an absolute and irrevocable gift: therefore, there could be no intention on the part of the depositors to resume possession which, in their belief, had never passed from the deceased.

Much as it may be deprecated that, in the pursuit of science, and still more of the greed of gain, the repose of the dead should be disturbed and their sepulchres rifled, it may be some relief to those who feel aggrieved by what has been the practice of the Treasury, to know that the claims of the Crown in these cases previously submitted to, still await a judicial decision as to their legality, which there is good reason to hope will be against those claims.

In the accompanying Appendix I give an epitome of the Indian law of Treasure Trove, which might very well be taken as a model in any future modification of the English Law.

[1] Counsel for the defence argued that their case was, that it was "not a case of abandonment, but a case of a votive offering made to a deity;" but surely the term "abandonment" cannot be confined only to the material thing abandoned, but must include the renunciation of any future right in the owner, and thus take the case out of the Royal Prerogative, whether offered to a deity or otherwise.

APPENDIX.

INDIAN EMPIRE.

EPITOME OF ACT VI OF 1878 (AS MODIFIED BY ACT XII OF 1891), TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO TREASURE TROVE.

Passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.
Assent by the Governor-General, 18th February, 1878.

1. Short Title, "The Indian Treasure-Trove Act, 1878." Extends to the whole of British India.

2. Repealed by the Repealing and Amending Act, 1891.

3. In this Act "treasure" means anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto.

"Collector" means (1) any Revenue officer in independent charge of a district, and (2) any officer appointed by the Local Government to perform the functions of a Collector under this Act.

When any person is entitled, under any reservation in an instrument of transfer of any land or thing affixed thereto, to treasure in such land or thing, he shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be the owner of such land or thing.

4. Whenever any treasure exceeding in amount or value ten rupees is found, the finder shall, as soon as practicable, give to the Collector notice in writing:—

(*a*) Of the nature and amount or proximate value of such treasure.
(*b*) Of the place in which it was found;
(*c*) Of the date of the finding;

and either deposit the treasure in the nearest Government Treasury, or give the Collector such security as the Collector thinks fit, to produce the treasure as he may require.

5. On receiving notice, the Collector shall, after enquiry (if any) as he may think fit, take the following steps:—

(*a*) He shall publish a notification as the Local Government prescribes, requiring all persons claiming the treasure, or any part thereof, to appear before the Collector on a day and at a place named, not earlier than four months, or later than six months, after notification.

(*b*) When the place in which the treasure appears to the Collector to have been found was, at the date of the finding, in possession of some person other than the finder, the Collector shall also serve on such person a special notice in writing to the same effect.

6. Owner of the place where treasure found or otherwise not appearing shall forfeit such right.

7. On day appointed, Collector shall enquire and determine :—

(*a*) The person by whom, the place in which, and the circumstances under which, the treasure was found ;

(*b*) As far as possible, the person by whom, and the circumstances under which the treasure was hidden.

8. If Collector sees reason to believe that the treasure was hidden within one hundred years before the date of the finding, by a person appearing as required by the said notification and claiming such treasure, or by some other person under whom such person claims, time shall be given for a suit in the Civil Court by the claimant to establish his right.

9. If Collector finds the treasure was not hidden, or if no suit is instituted within the time allowed, or the Plaintiff's claim is finally rejected—

The Collector may declare the treasure to be ownerless ; subject to appeal within two months to the chief controlling Revenue authority.

Subject to such appeal, every such declaration shall be conclusive.

10. Where a declaration has been made under Sec. 9, such treasure shall, in accordance with the provisions following, either be delivered to the finder, or divided between him and the owner of the place of finding.

11. Where no other person than finder claims as owner of place, the treasure is to be given to finder.

12. Where only one such person, other than finder, claims, and the claim is not disputed by the finder, the treasure, in the absence of agreement between the finder and the claimant, is to be divided between them, three-fourths to finder and the residue to the claimant. If an agreement has been entered into, the treasure shall be disposed of in accordance therewith.

Provided that the Collector may, instead of dividing the treasure,—

(*a*) Allot to either party the whole or more than his share, on payment of an equivalent, or

(*b*) Sell such treasure or any portion thereof by public auction, and divide the sale proceeds between the parties as before mentioned.

Provided also, that when the Collector has by his declaration under Sect. 9 rejected any claim by any person other than the finder, or person claiming as owner of the place in which the treasure was found, division shall not be made until after the

expiration of two months, without an appeal having been presented under Sect. 9 by the person whose claim has been rejected or appeal dismissed.

13. In case of dispute as to ownership of place, proceedings to be stayed pending application to a Civil Court,

(14) to be instituted within a month, in which the finder and all persons disputing the claim shall be defendants.

15. If plaintiff's claim be finally established, the treasure, subject to provisions of Sect. 12, shall be divided between him and the finder.

If no suit instituted, or all claims finally rejected, the Collector shall deliver the treasure to the finder.

16. Collector may at any time, after making a declaration under Sect. 9, and before dividing or delivering the treasure, declare by writing his intention to acquire, on behalf of the Government, the treasure or any specific portion thereof, by payment to the persons entitled of a sum equal to the value of the materials of the treasure or portion, together with one-fifth of such value; and may place such sum in deposit in his treasury to the credit of such persons; and thereupon the treasure or portion shall be deemed to be the property of the Government, and the money deposited dealt with as if it were such treasure or portion.

17. Decision of Collector final, and no suits against him for acts done *bonâ fide.*

18. Collector may exercise powers of Civil Court.

19. The Local Government may make rules to regulate proceedings.

20. Penalty on finder failing to give notice, etc., required by Sect. 4, or attempt to conceal identity of treasure, his share, or money in lieu thereof, to vest in Her Majesty, and fine or imprisonment, extending to one year, or both.

21. Penalty on owner abetting offence under Sect. 20, similar to that Sect. except that imprisonment limited to six months.

NOTES ON DURHAM AND OTHER NORTH-COUNTRY SANCTUARIES.

By R. H. FORSTER, Esq., Hon. Treasurer.

(*Read May 18th*, 1904).

IN dealing with the subject of mediæval sanctuaries, it is necessary to begin by drawing a clear distinction between two classes :—

1. To a limited extent all parish churches were sanctuaries. An offender might escape the extreme penalty of the law by taking refuge in a parish church, and abjuring the realm in the presence of the coroner of the district.
2. A certain number of important churches—some of them monastic and some secular foundations—possessed more extensive privileges, which enabled them to protect the fugitive within certain territorial limits : at least for a considerable period, and in later times permanently.

Cases coming under the former of these heads seem to have been common enough, especially in the unruly districts of the North of England. Many examples are to be found in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls* of the years 1256 and 1279, which have been printed by the Surtees Society (vol. 88) ; for in every case a presentment of the fact, and of the value of the fugitive's property, was made to the King's Justices, who held the Sheriff or Coroner responsible for the forfeiture, and fined the townships which failed to arrest the criminal before he reached the church, or allowed him to escape after he had once taken refuge there. In the majority of cases the

offender seems to have been an habitual criminal, making a last desperate bid for life when the shadow of the gallows was already upon him; and not infrequently he takes sanctuary after breaking out of prison. For instance: —

"Robertus de Cregling et Jacobus le Escoc', duo extranei, capti fuerunt pro suspicione latrocinii per ballivos Willelmi de Valencia, et imprisonati in prisona ejusdem Willelmi apud Rowebyr' (Rothbury). Et prædictus Robertus postea evasit de prisona illa ad ecclesiam de Rowebyr' et cognovit ibi latrocinium et abjuravit regnum coram Willelmo de Baumburg', tunc coronatore" (*Northumberland Assize Rolls*, p. 74).

Sanctuaries of the second and more important class were, of course, much more limited in number: there were about thirty in various parts of England, and (speaking generally) their characteristics were much the same: the fugitive came to the church, and was admitted to the privileges of sanctuary with certain formalities; in some cases he was given a distinctive badge or dress, and so long as he remained within the protected area he was safe from legal punishment or private suit. The principal sanctuaries of the North of England were Durham, a Benedictine abbey; Tynemouth, a Benedictine priory, subordinate to St. Alban's; Hexham, an Augustinian monastery under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York; York, Ripon, and Beverley, all served by colleges of secular canons, and all owning the same Archbishop as their superior lord. Wetheral, in Cumberland, a cell of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's, York, enjoyed similar privileges; and there is some trace of sanctuary rights attaching to a small priory at Carham by the Tweed, a cell of the Augustinian house of Kirkham, in Yorkshire.

The manner in which the privileges of these places were instituted, and their extent in the early days of their history, is involved in much obscurity. Hexham claimed to derive its sanctuary from a grant made by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, to Wilfred, the founder of the monastery, about the year 675; Ripon and Beverley are said to have been similarly enfranchised by King Athelstan, York by Edward the Confessor. But even if we assume these claims to be well founded—and the

name of Athelstan was always a favourite peg to hang a legend on—it is probable that the original grants were not so extensive as the privileges which we find in existence centuries later. At Durham, tradition limited the original grant to a period of thirty-seven days; at Beverley, the fugitive is said to have obtained thirty days' protection for the first and second time of taking sanctuary, and to have become "serviens ecclesiæ imperpetuum" if he came a third time; but neither of these accounts agrees with the records of a later time, and, if true, they represent an early stage in the history of sanctuaries. In all probability the privileges of a sanctuary were a matter of growth, and that growth proceeded from two main sources of nourishment:—

1. The reputation of the particular church, generally due to the possession of the relics of a well-known saint; and
2. The acquisition of an independent temporal jurisdiction over a certain territory.

It is interesting to note that the saint is in many cases distinctively English: Edward the Confessor at Westminster, Etheldreda at Ely, Edmund at Bury St. Edmund's, John at Beverley, Wilfrid at Ripon, Cuthbert at Durham, Oswin at Tynemouth, Acca, Alchmund, and others at Hexham; while the legend of Joseph of Arimathæa, and his coming to Britain, brought Glastonbury into prominence as a monastery and sanctuary. York Minster was, no doubt, a sanctuary before St. William of York became Archbishop; but the miracles alleged to have been performed at his tomb after his death, in 1154, must have greatly increased the reputation of the place. Generally speaking, the saint whose relics were thus effective was not the saint—or, at any rate, not the principal saint—of the dedication.

Religious sanctions, no doubt, protected the privileges of a sanctuary, and would tend to enlarge them. To the mediæval mind a saint—and especially a native saint—was a very real and often a very terrible person: jealous of the prerogatives and prompt to punish any interference with the rights of his church. Kings desired his inter-

cession, and occasionally showed a lively sense of favours, past or future, by adding not only to the wealth but also to the power of those who had the custody of his relics; while legends became current of miracles by which violation of the sanctuary had been prevented or punished, and it was against the interest of monastic historians to be critical. But religious influences alone could not have made these sanctuaries what they were in the period immediately preceding the dissolution of the monasteries; they were only the secondary cause of that development, which was more directly due to the acquisition of the widest form of independent civil jurisdiction, known as *jura regalia*, or Liberty Royal.

Here again the *Northumberland Assize Rolls*, already referred to, come to our assistance. They show that these independent territories had their own officers and legal establishment, and that the royal officials were not allowed to interfere in their government, or even to cross their boundaries, although at the date in question these rights had not in all cases crystallised, so to speak, and were still regarded with jealousy by the King's Justices and the jurors of unprivileged parts of the county. For instance, we read in the Roll of 1256, that William de Erlington, of Scotland, beat William, son of Ralph of Lipwood, at Hexham, so that the latter died within a month. The offender fled and was outlawed: he had no property to be confiscated, "eo quod de Scotia"—because he was a Scotchman—and no information could be obtained "de attachiamento," *i.e.*, as to who was responsible for his escaping arrest—"eo quod ballivi ejusdem libertatis non permittunt coronatores nec vicecomites intrare libertatem illam" (*N. A. R.*, p. 86).

Indeed, we may here see the sanctuaries of Hexham and Tynemouth in the making, so to speak. The Prior of Tynemouth, according to a presentment made in 1279, "habet retornum brevium, et tenet placita de namio vetito, et habet wreckum maris et alia quæ ad coronam pertinent, per cartas Regum Angliæ prædecessorum Regis nunc, et habet furcas et assisam panis et cerevisiae a tempore Regis Henrici, filii Wilelmi Regis Conquaestoris" (*N. A. R.*, p. 358). The rights of the Archbishop of

York in Hexhamshire are described in similar terms: both had, in fact, *jura regalia*, and these privileges were to be claimed in a particular manner, whenever the King's Justices entered Northumberland; but, apparently, the Justices were not disposed to admit the right to harbour fugitive offenders. For instance:—

"Willelmus Faber percussit Rogerum Paraventur' quodam knipulo in ventre et statim fugit et malecreditur: ideo exigatur et utlagetur. Postea testatum est quod idem Willelmus receptatus fuit apud Tinemue in libertate Prioris de Tinemue. Ideo præceptum est vicecomiti quod venire faciat prædictum Priorem ad ostendendum quo varanto recepit felonem in terra sua" (*N. A. R.*, p. 338).

"Robertus de Virly remanens in prisona de Novo Castro quousque quidam Hugo de Berwick clericus, Robertus de Seghal clericus, Thomas de Wodeslak diaconus, et Bartholomæus Russel capellanus . . . . noctanter venerunt ad dictam prisonam et eam fregerunt et prædictum Robertum ceperunt et abduxerunt usque ad capellam de Gesemue et ibidem dimiserunt; qui quidem Robertus inde recessit et fugit in libertatem de Tynemouth, et ibidem receptatus est. Ideo ad judicium de eadem libertate" (*N. A. R.*, p. 368).

One or two similar entries occur in connection with Hexham; but, unfortunately, the Roll contains no sequel to any of these stories. However, in 1342 we find both places treated as permanent sanctuaries. On July 5th of that year, Edward III issued a charter, empowering "our beloved cousin and liegeman, Edward de Baliol, King of Scotland, to treat with and enlist for service beyond the border, "homines vocatos *grithmen* apud Beverlacum, Riponiam, Tynemuth, Hextildesham, et Wederhale, et alibi, in libertate ecclesiastica pro immunitate ibidem ratione feloniarum per ipsos factarum optinenda existentes." Those who volunteered were to be given a free pardon for all felonies committed before Trinity Sunday of that year.

A comparison of dates shows that this offer must refer to men who were permanently domiciled in sanctuary. The charter is dated July 5th, and Trinity Sunday fell on May 26th, forty days earlier. If the traditional account of a thirty days' protection at Beverley were true of this period, it is clear that Edward Baliol would find very few "grithmen" there whose offences had been committed before

Trinity Sunday, and the whole scheme would become illusory. In fact, no sanctuary would be of any use as a recruiting-ground for a particular campaign, unless its "grithmen" were fairly numerous; and they could not become numerous if they were turned out of sanctuary after a certain number of days.

It will be noticed that in this charter there is no mention of Durham, and the omission may seem to indicate that Durham was not a place of permanent sanctuary. There are, however, two reasons for its exclusion. First, the exemption of the people of the Palatinate from military service beyond their own borders was a privilege jealously guarded and constantly asserted, both by the people against the Bishop, and by the Bishop against the King. Secondly, it is probable that the Bishop himself was raising men for the army which was to support Baliol: during the preceding winter he had at his own cost supplied and maintained twenty men-at-arms and as many mounted archers, and Edward III had given him a special charter to safeguard the rights of the Bishopric. He had also to provide for the protection of his territories of Norhamshire and Islandshire, in the northernmost corner of England, as well as for the garrison of Norham Castle; and in any case the Bishop of Durham was much too great a potentate to allow recruiting within his dominions, even under licence of the King himself.

We have had a reference to "grithmen," "in libertate ecclesiastica existentes," and the question now arises of the limits within which they lived. In the book known as *The Rites of Durham*, it is stated that the Durham sanctuary precinct was the church and churchyard. At York, Beverley, and Hexham there was, so to speak, a graduated scale, of which we may take Hexham as an example. At that place, as we read in Prior Richard's history, there were four crosses, each a mile from the church in different directions, and these marked the boundaries of the sanctuary to an incoming fugitive. The penalty for arresting one who had entered this area was two *hundreth*, or sixteen pounds; if the seizure were made "infra villam," the penalty was four *hundreth*; if "infra muros atrii ecclesiæ, six *hundreth*; if within the

church itself, twelve *hundreth* and penance, "sicut de sacrilegiis;" but if any one "vesano spiritu agitatus, diabolico ausu quemquam capere præsumpserit in cathedra lapidea juxta altare quam Angli vocant *fridstol*, id est cathedram quietudinis vel pacis, vel etiam ad feretrum sanctarum reliquiarum quod est post altare"—then the offence was *botolos*, and could not be purged by any monetary payment.

It is clear that these limits apply primarily to the case of a fugitive approaching the sanctuary. Was the protected area the same for one who had been duly admitted and made a "grithman"? Possibly this may have been so in early times, and even up to the first half of the twelfth century, during which period Prior Richard wrote. It was not until about the year 1100 that Hexhamshire came into the possession of the Archbishop of York, and the extension of sanctuary privileges by means of temporal jurisdiction was probably a gradual process: during the thirteenth century Hexhamshire is in some documents described as a "manerium;" but as early as 1120 the Bull which Archbishop Thurstan obtained from Calixtus II speaks of the "libertatis consuetudines" of York, Hexham, Beverley, and Ripon: *libertas* is the term most frequently used in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls*; and in letters and deeds of the fourteenth and following centuries *libertas* occurs regularly, except when the matter referred to is purely spiritual, in which case the usual word is *jurisdictio*.

Now this word *libertas* is habitually used in connection with places of sanctuary, and in mediæval times it almost invariably denoted a definite territory over which some person had special jurisdiction. This fact, together with several expressions presently to be quoted from the Durham Registers, make it appear probable that when once a jurisdiction of this kind was established in connection with a sanctuary, the "grithman" was free to live anywhere within the territory over which that jurisdiction extended. In many cases, no doubt, the distinction would be of little importance; but in two North-Country instances the sphere becomes greatly enlarged. The liberty, franchise, or regality of Hexham covered an area

of about ninety square miles; and I shall endeavour to show that the "grithman" of Durham was free to remain within the boundaries of the Bishopric, as it was anciently called—that is to say, within the boundaries of the County Palatine.

Of the origin and early history of the sanctuary of Durham we have only meagre information. In the year 750, Offa, the son of Alfrid, fled to the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, but King Eadbert blockaded the church till his victim was starved into submission. Here we have no mention of any special privilege, though perhaps the King would have taken more peremptory measures if the church had been one of less reputation. In the following century we come upon what was—or at least was in early times believed to be—the origin of the sanctuary rights of Durham. After a period of anarchy, which followed the Danish invasion of 875 and the death of its leader Halfdene, Eadred, Abbot of Luerchester, or Luelchester—*i.e.*, Carlisle—(so says a *Life of St. Cuthbert* by an anonymous author of early date) was, in a dream, by that Saint commanded to redeem Guthred, son of Hardecnut, a youth of the Danish royal blood, who had been sold as a slave to a certain widow of Whittingham; he was to direct the Danish masters of Northumbria to make Guthred their king, and Guthred was to give to St. Cuthbert all the land between Wear and Tyne, and to ordain that fugitives coming to the shrine of the Saint should have peace for thirty-seven days and nights. Symeon of Durham repeats the story, and adds that Guthred reigned at York, while Egbert remained King of the Northumbrians of Bernicia.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact historical basis of the story, but it is clear that Halfdene was a heathen and Guthred a Christian King; possibly his conversion occurred while he was a slave at Whittingham. But, at any rate, Guthred's elevation brought the wanderings of the monks of Lindisfarne with St. Cuthbert's body to an end at last, and made possible the re-establishment of the See at Chester-le-Street, whence it was moved to Durham about a century later. Alfred the Great joined with Guthred in confirming and enlarging the possessions

and privileges of St. Cuthbert, and the two conferred upon the Saint, "in augmentum prioris episcopatus," all the land between Tyne and Tees. Possibly it may have been Alfred's policy to erect a strong ecclesiastical authority between the two subordinate kingdoms; and, certainly the *jura regalia* of the Bishops of Durham were of very early origin: during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these rights were not infrequently challenged by the Crown, and always successfully maintained by the Bishop, merely on the plea that they had been enjoyed from time immemorial, both before the Conquest and after.

This period of thirty-seven days was very possibly the limit of the original privilege of St. Cuthbert's shrine. It was a very considerable enlargement of the sanctuary rights of an ordinary church, which were limited to three nights' protection by the laws of Alfred, promulgated in 887, four years after Guthred's elevation; and at a time when homicide was regarded as an offence rather against the individual and his kinsmen than against the State, to be expiated by monetary compensation rather than by legal punishment, this limited protection was probably adequate. But in course of time there arose the more modern conception of crime as an offence against the King's peace, to be punished by the King's officers; and, as the organisation of the country improved, a protection limited to thirty-seven days would become more and more illusory.

Meanwhile, the Bishopric of Durham had grown into that "imperium in imperio" which we find existing in post-Conquest days. "In such places where libertie royall is," says a document of the time of Bishop Fox, about the end of the fifteenth century, "there the Kinges writte renneth not nor noon of the Kinges officers nor ministers can or may, be the Kinges write or other commaundment, entre, doo any office or sease on lands by way of eschets or forfature." Who could interfere with the "grithman," after the thirty-seven days were over, if the Bishop's officers left him alone? The Sheriffs and Coroners of the adjoining counties could not touch him, and private vengeance would not lightly risk a quarrel

with a prelate who, in his own domain, was as powerful as the King himself. The Bishop of Durham had his own courts, civil as well as spiritual—one of them is still in existence—and his own judicial and executive officers; he issued his own writs and coined his own money; he could hold his own parliaments and create his own barons. The King in Parliament was his only temporal superior.

Two questions here suggest themselves: If royal officials could not enter the Bishopric, why did fugitives trouble to go through the formality of taking sanctuary at Durham? And why did the Bishops of Durham allow criminals to remain in their territory? In the first place, there is no reason to suppose that every fugitive *did* formally take sanctuary. The *Northumberland Assize Roll* of 1279 records a case in which several men of good family came from Farnacres, a place just within the northern boundary of the Bishopric, broke into a house near Newcastle, and fled "usque in libertatem Episcopi Dunelmensis *apud Farnacres*" (*N. A. R.*, p. 343). Some form of pursuit, too, may have been permissible. In the *Roll* of 1256 we find a man "ductus ad castrum de Novo Castro, et ipse saltavit ultra murum castri et fugit ad ecclesiam de Gatesheved" (*N. A. R.*, p. 96), where he abjured the realm before the Bishop's Coroner. He may have been trying to reach Durham, and have found the pursuit too hot for him; but it is certainly curious that the crimes which he confesses in the church of Gateshead are not those for which he had been imprisoned at Newcastle; and he may have been "wanted" by the authorities of either county. But, speaking generally, the duly-admitted "grithman" was probably much more secure from private reprisals; in any case, custom must have had much to do with the practice, and formalities die hard. If we are to believe the *Rites of Durham*, perhaps we get the best reason of all in the fact that the newly-admitted "grithman" was lodged and boarded at the expense of the convent for thirty-seven days.

Custom, too, may supply the answer to the second question, and custom would not lightly be interfered with where custom was the foundation of the whole structure;

nor is it unreasonable to imagine that there was some sort of jealousy between the Royal and the Episcopal officers, and that the latter would be most unwilling to do anything which might be interpreted as a mark of inferiority, or used as a precedent against the Bishop's prerogatives. After all, the evil was less serious than we are apt to suppose; the number of men who took sanctuary during the period for which we have detailed records is not large, and in the great majority of cases the crime was homicide, committed in hot blood or in self-defence. Very few of the applicants can, if we consider the manners of the age, be clearly classed as "undesirables"; and, in any case, the "grithman" who settled in the county would be a marked man. The Bishop's gallows were ready for him if he did not mend his ways; and if he did mend them, then the Bishopric profited, especially if the fugitive was a skilled workman or a man of property.

Of the growth of the privileges of Durham sanctuary, from a thirty-seven days' protection to a permanent immunity, there is practically no documentary evidence. We find charters confirming the liberties and customs of the Bishopric, but only in general terms which make no mention of this particular privilege; but this goes to prove that the growth was the natural consequence of the Bishop's *jura regalia*, and not the outcome of any definite grant. We find some instances in the *Northumberland Assize Rolls* of offenders taking refuge in the Bishopric, the legal effect being apparently the same as if they had fled to Scotland: and we catch what may be a glimpse of it in the "History of Robert de Graystanes." Edward II, we read, had intended during a vacancy of the See to send his own Justices into the Palatinate; but the inhabitants of the county, conjecturing that much vexation and loss would fall upon them in consequence, persuaded Richard de Kellow, the newly-elected but as yet unconsecrated Bishop, "ut redemptionem faceret"—in plain English, to bribe the King to leave them alone. It is possible that during a vacancy of the See a "grithman's" position became in theory precarious: the King being in possession of the temporalities, the

King's Justices might have interfered with him. But in practice this does not seem to have occurred, at any rate in later times. The See was vacant from May 5th, 1505, when Bishop Senhous died, to October 15th, 1507, when Bishop Bainbridge was appointed; and during that time twenty-three cases occur, which is above the average. If men were allowed to take sanctuary while the King was in possession of the temporalities, it is not likely that "grithmen" of the deceased Bishop's time were disturbed.

For direct evidence concerning the sanctuary of Durham, we must pass on to the last period of the Abbey's monastic existence—to the entries relating to the subject in the Cathedral Registers, and to the account given by the author of the *Rites of Durham*. From these sources we learn what was the state of affairs at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries; and it may be convenient at this point to give some description of the process of taking sanctuary at Durham at that period.

The fugitive came to the north door of the nave, "knocking and rapping on yt to have yt opened"—of course with the famous twelfth-century knocker, which still exists. He was "letten in" by "certen men that did lie alwaies in two chambers over the said north church door," and on being admitted he "did rynne streight waye to the Galleley bell and tould it," so says the author of the *Rites of Durham*. The register entries usually have "pulsatis campanis" in the plural; sometimes "pulsata campana," and once "per pulsacionem unius campanæ, ut moris est." In any case, the bell used would be one of those which hung in the north-west tower, called the Galilee Steeple, a tower adjacent to, but distinct from and older than the Galilee. "In the weste end of the Church," says the same work, "in the north allie, and over the Galleley dour ther, in a belfray called the Galleley Steple, did hing iiij goodly great bells."

The next formality was the claim, admission, and registration of the fugitive. In the *Rites of Durham* we read that "when the prior had intelligence thereof"—*i.e.*, of the fugitive's arrival—"then he dyd send word,

and commanding them that they should keape themselves within the Sanctuary, that is to saie within the Church and Churchyard ;" but probably this injunction applied to the interval between arrival and formal admission. The fugitive might reach Durham at any hour of the day or night; and in most cases some time would elapse before an official of the convent and the necessary witnesses were ready for the ceremony of admission.

This ceremony is sometimes expressly stated to have taken place in the nave; once it was performed in the Sacrist's Exchequer, which stood in the north aisle of the choir, and once "in domo registrali;" but in most cases no place is recorded, and probably it took place wherever happened to be most convenient. The petitioner seems to have made—and at least in one case to have signed—a statement of the circumstances which led to his taking sanctuary; but there is no record of an administration of an oath of fidelity, as was the practice at Beverley, though in one or two cases the man is stated to have sworn that he was innocent of the crime alleged against him. The presiding official was most often the Sacrist; but on some occasions the Chancellor of the Cathedral, sometimes the Sub-Prior, and sometimes a monk who was qualified as a Notary Public. The witnesses, whose names are recorded, were of various ranks and occupations; sometimes the fugitive's friends or relatives accompanied him to Durham, perhaps with the intention of helping him to resist arrest; sometimes the witnesses were monks, servants, or clerks of the convent officials, and sometimes the masons engaged in the repair of the fabric were called down from their work; but very often the witnesses were chance spectators, or persons attracted by curiosity. The ceremony must have been something of a show, and (if the registers have been accurately kept) a rarer show than we are apt to imagine. The earliest entry is dated 1464, and the second does not occur till 1477; which suggests that even if 1464 is a clerical error for 1474, the practice of registration came gradually into use; for it must be remembered that the Durham entries were not made in a special book, such as

appears to have been kept at Beverley, but occur in the ordinary course of business in the Registers of the Cathedral. However, from 1477 to 1524, the record seems to be fairly complete. The largest number of entries occurs in 1519, when 22 men took sanctuary; 21 came in 1506, the same number in 1507, 18 in 1517, and 17 in 1515; but out of forty-seven years, only eight have more than ten entries. The average is slightly under six, and in the years 1480, 1497, and 1520 no entry occurs. The last entry is dated September 10th, 1524, and we cannot tell why the practice of registration was given up; but it may be more than a coincidence that, about eighteen months before that date, Wolsey became Bishop of Durham. It is possible that he used his power to limit, and gradually to suppress, a custom which, as the King's minister, he must have regarded with disfavour.

Having thus been duly admitted, the "grithman" (according to the *Rites of Durham*) was given a gown of black cloth, "maid with a cross of yeallowe cloth, called St. Cuthbert's Cross, sett on the lefte shoulder of his arme." He was allowed to lie "within the church or Saunctuary in a grate . . . standing and adjoining unto the Gallilei dore on the south side," and "had meite, drinke, and bedding, and other necessaries of the house cost and charg for 37 days." This grate seems to have shut off the recess on the south side of the south-west tower, and was therefore in the nave and not in the Galilee; for here, as in a previous quotation, the Galilee door means one of the doors which opened into the Galilee from the west end of the nave, through the western walls of the two western towers. These doors were made by Bishop Langley (1406-1437), and it was probably he who closed the original door in the Galilee north wall, which was reopened in 1841. Before Langley's time, the Galilee was entered from the nave by the great west door.

The author of the *Rites of Durham* goes on to state that fugitives were so maintained "unto such tyme as the prior and convent could gett theme conveyed out of the dioces;" and here we come upon matter of

controversy. The evidence of the register entries lends no support to this statement, and much of it points in quite a different direction.

The *Rites of Durham* is a book which professes to have been written in 1593—more than fifty years after the dissolution of the Abbey; and it is said that the handwriting of the earliest MS. shows this date to be approximately correct. It is generally supposed that the anonymous author must have been an inmate of Durham Abbey in his early years; but if so, he must either have been too young at that time to get a detailed knowledge of all that he describes, or he would be too old in 1593 to retain a very trustworthy recollection of what he had seen. The minuteness of many of his descriptions is remarkable and suspicious: it seems impossible "that one small head should carry all he knew," at any rate for fifty years. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the book is a compilation, drawn partly from ancient records and partly from the reminiscences of more than one old Durham resident, and therefore second-hand at the best. Indeed, in this particular instance, it does not profess to be more, but merely records what happened "in the florishinge tyme, long before the house of Durham was supprest." The register entries, on the other hand, are contemporary evidence; they were made by constituted authority in the ordinary course of business, and in case of any conflict of testimony, they must undoubtedly prevail.

The evidence to be derived from these entries (Surtees Soc. Publications, vol. v) may be classed under four heads:—

1. *General Expressions.*—In many entries—for there was no fixed form, and in the later years brevity was in favour—the claimant asks for "immunitatem ecclesiae et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti." Surely this must mean something more extensive than harbourage for thirty-seven days, followed by expulsion from the county. Is it likely that the most famous and opulent shrine of the North would afford a smaller degree of protection than other sanctuaries, where the "grithman" could live permanently? My suggestion is, that possibly the fugitive was maintained by the convent for thirty-seven days; but that when this period came to an end, the immunity did not come to an end with it, and that the

"grithman" was still protected if he chose to remain within the limits of the Bishop's temporal jurisdiction.

2. *Special Phrases.*—A few entries are more explicit, and seem to record the full title of the privilege which the "grithman" obtained.

(1.) On July 13th, 1486, Robert Lonysdale and Christofer Lyndesey took sanctuary for homicide at Halgyll in Yorkshire, "pro qua felonia petunt immunitatem ecclesiæ supradictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam pro se, catallis et bonis suis quibuscunque.*"

(2.) On September 4th, 1491, Robert Henryson took sanctuary for homicide at Berwick; "pro qua felonia predictus Robertus Heryson instanter peciit immunitatem ecclesiæ praedictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam.*"

(3.) On August 24th, 1423, Robert Grene took sanctuary for homicide at Newcastle; "pro qua quidem felonia petiit immunitatem in tuitione sui corporis et bonorum suorum *infra Tynam et Tysam.*"

(4.) On April 11th, 1496, three canons of Egglestone took sanctuary as accessories to a murder; "Idcirco pro tuitione suorum corporum et legis evasione, si forsan indictari poterint ex hac causa, immunitatem petierunt."

(5.) On December 19th, 1500, Richard Seyll took sanctuary for homicide at Askrigg in Yorkshire; "pro qua felonia prefatus Ricardus instanter petiit immunitatem ecclesiæ predictæ et libertatem Sancti Cuthberti *infra Tynam et Tysam.*"

Now, what meaning can be attached to such expressions as *immunitas, libertas infra Tynam et Tysam, legis evasio*, and the like, if the protection afforded came to an end in less than six weeks? Why should a man ask for protection for his goods and chattels, if in so short a time he was to be conveyed out of the diocese? It is also to be remarked that the phrase "infra Tynam et Tysam," or sometimes more briefly "inter aquas," is constantly used as a rough definition of the boundaries of the Bishopric. There is nothing in the details of these cases to differentiate them from others where the words used are simply "libertas Sancti Cuthberti," except that there is some indication of their having been written by a clerk who had a pedantic affection for prolix expressions. In each case the account of the crime is introduced by the phrase "in eo et pro eo quod," or "pro eo et ex eo quod," instead

of the more usual "pro eo quod." The inference seems to be that these words of territorial description ought to be understood in every case, and that the liberty of St. Cuthbert protected the "grithman" and his property within the boundaries of the County Palatine of Durham.

3. *Circumstantial Evidence.*—About the Feast of St. Katherine (November 25th), 1510, Richard Horsley, of Catton, in Hexhamshire, was dragged from his mother's house, and received wounds which caused his death within a month. On December 18th of the same year, William Ratclif, of Catton, took sanctuary at Beverley for being concerned in the murder; on December 28th, Peter Swake and Roland Dale, both of Catton, took sanctuary at Durham, as having been present when the crime was committed; on July 5th, 1511—more than six months later—William Ratclif was admitted to the sanctuary of Durham. The crime recorded is the same, and Peter Swake was one of the witnesses present at his admission.

On August 26th, 1519, Robert Tenant took sanctuary at Durham, "for savegard of my lyf and for savegard of my body from imprisonment, concernyng suche danger as I am in enenst my lord of Northumbreland, for declaracion of accompts"; and he came to Durham from Ripon, where he had previously taken sanctuary for the same reason. In addition to the fact that in the Catton case we find a "grithman" at Durham many months after his admission, these two entries at least suggest that the privileges of Durham were better worth obtaining than those of Ripon or Beverley: as they naturally would be, if the sphere of protection, and therefore the chance of getting a livelihood, were so much more extensive.

On September 12th, 1503, George Birket, of Grissingham, in Lancashire, took sanctuary for homicide. On August 27th, 1505—nearly two years later—we find him witnessing the admission of John Berwick, of Halton, a place within a few miles of Grissingham; and on July 7th, 1519, he again took sanctuary at Durham for the old offence; but this time he is described as of Staindrop, in County Durham.

On August 9th, 1500, John Bulman, of Ripon, took sanctuary for homicide committed at Ripon. On March 24th, 15$\frac{11}{12}$, he again took sanctuary for what was evidently the same crime; but, on the second occasion, he is described as of Blackwell, a village on the north side of the Tees, close to Darlington and within the Bishopric.

It may be argued that these second admissions for the original offence prove that the protection afforded by the first was not permanent; but, at any rate, we have here

two instances of a "grithman" domiciled within the Bishopric many years after he first took sanctuary; and it is quite possible to account for the second admission in other ways. Probably it was merely a precaution. The very length of the interval—nearly sixteen years in one case and more than eleven in the other—might almost suggest a romantic explanation: that the dead man's son was bred up as the avenger of his father's death; that when he came to manhood he set himself to hunt down the murderer; and that the "grithman," perhaps more from fear of violence than of legal prosecution, made himself safe by a second appeal to St. Cuthbert. Perhaps the immunity was forfeited—or was popularly supposed to be forfeited—if the "grithman" crossed the borders of the county, as he must often have done. In the days when local differences and prejudices were more accentuated than they are to-day, it must have been hard for a man to begin a new life in a strange place. After years of waiting, he may have imagined that the storm had blown over, and so may have ventured back to his old home. Sometimes, no doubt, all went well, and sometimes (as these two cases seem to show) his hopes were disappointed. Certainly, it is significant that the Ripon man settled on the border nearest to Ripon, and the Lancastrian at a village within easy reach of Stainmore: the natural line of communication between Durham and Lancashire.

4. *Topographical Evidence.*—This is to be obtained by examining the places at which the recorded crimes were committed. Yorkshire (including the liberties of York, Ripon, Beverley, and Richmondshire) heads the list with 120 out of 240 entries. Northumberland (including Newcastle, Berwick, and Hexhamshire) comes next with 58. Twenty are from Westmoreland, 13 from Cumberland, 9 from Lancashire, 4 from Middlesex, 3 each from Lincolnshire and Warwickshire, 2 each from Nottinghamshire and Cheshire; and single entries from Surrey, Suffolk, Somerset, Northamptonshire, Derbyshire, and Gloucestershire. There are only 2 entries from County Durham, and with these I shall deal presently.

Now, it is obvious that no sanctuary would protect its own criminals—*i.e.*, that no one could take refuge in a sanctuary for a crime committed within the precincts of

that sanctuary. We have already had some proof of this proposition in the case cited of a murder committed at Hexham, and the following is a still better instance :—

"Alanus filius Laurentii vulneravit Ricardum Arkill' juxta villam de Haliden *infra libertatem de Hextildesham.* Et dictus Alanus statim fugit *ad pacem de Tynemue.*" (*N. A. R.*, p. 38).

In the Catton murder case we also find the offenders flying to Durham and Beverley, not to Hexham, since the crime was committed within that liberty; and the same holds good of John Bulman, of Ripon.

The Durham and Beverley Registers point the same way. During the period covered by these records, Durham received 10 fugitives from Hexhamshire, 9 from Ripon, 4 from York, 3 from Beverley, and 1 from Tynemouth; while Beverley got 16 from the Bishopric, 16 from York, 3 from Ripon, and 1 from Hexhamshire; and in one instance the phrase used is "pro qua quidem felonia, et omnibus aliis feloniis per ipsos . . . seu eorum alterum *extra libertatem praedictam* qualitercunque perpetratis," etc. We find a few Beverley men taking sanctuary at Beverley, but in two cases for crimes specifically stated to have been committed elsewhere. In the remaining three instances there is no mention of the place; certainly no direct statement that the crime was committed at Beverley; and since the Beverley entries are, as a rule, much briefer and balder than those of Durham, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in these cases, also, the offence took place outside the sanctuary precinct. Several Bishopric men took sanctuary at Durham, but always for crime committed beyond the borders of the County, except in the two cases with which I have now to deal.

On August 5th, 1505, Roland Ferrour came to the church of Durham, and took sanctuary for having struck one Alexander Marley on the head with a pike-staff, at a place called Pekefield, beside Frosterley, so that he died within eight days. The county is not expressly mentioned, but I can find no other Frosterley than the village near Stanhope, in Weardale, which give its name to the well-known Frosterley marble, and a place near it

still bears the name Peakfield. Upper Weardale must have been a wild and unfamiliar district in those days, and it is not impossible that the man was admitted by mistake, or perhaps by collusion. At any rate, it is more reasonable to suppose that there was one mistake in 240 cases than to imagine that sanctuary could be taken by criminals of the Bishopric, and that in half a century only one man availed himself of the opportunity.

The other case is one of which the significance has been generally missed. It has been treated as typical of the procedure by which the sanctuary man was "conveyed out of the dioces," whereas every circumstance shows it to be absolutely exceptional.

"Memorandum quod, tercio decimo die mensis Maii, Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCLXXXXVII quidam Colson de Wolsyngham, Dunelm., detectus de furto et racione hujusmodi furti captus et in carcere detrusus, et detentus, tandem a carcere evadens, fugit ad Ecclesiam Cath. Dunelm. propter immunitatem ibidem captandam, et dum ibidem staret prope feretrum Sancti Cuthberti petivit Coronatorem sibi assignari. Cui vero accessit Johannes Raket, coronator Wardae de Cestria in Strata, et cui idem Colson fatebatur feloniam, ibidem præstando juramentum corporale abronunciandi regno Angliæ et ab eo recedere cum omni celeritate qua commode potuisset, et illuc nunquam revertere, dum quod jure-jurando affirmavit ad feretrum S. Cuthberti coram dompno Georgio Cornforth, sacrista ecclesiæ Cath. Dunelm., Radulpho Bowes milite et Vicecomite Dunelm., Johanne Rakett, Roberto Thrylkett Subvicecomite, Hugone Holand, et Nicholao Dixson et multis aliis ibidem presentibus; racione cujus juramenti omnia ornamenta præfat' Colson ex debito pertinebant prefato Sacristæ et ejus officio; qua vero de causa injunctum erat huic Colson ut exuret (*ita*) se vestimenta sua, usque ad camisiam, et deliberaret ea prefato sacristæ; et fecit et posuit ea vestimenta in voluntate prædicti sacristæ, et sacrista cum habebat ea vestimenta in possessione posita et deliberata, gratis remisit et dedit ei omnia ornamenta sua in quibus ad tunc erat vestitus: et postea ibidem Colson recessit ab ecclesia, et deliberatus erat proximis constablariis per predictum Vicecomitem, et deinde a constablariis ad constablarios, cum alba cruce composita de ligno, ut profugus, ducendus usque ad proximum maris portum propter naufragium (read *navigium*) ibi captandum et nunquam recessurus. Acta fuerunt haec sub Anno Domini, mense, die et loco prædictis."

Now, this is plainly an instance of the former of the two classes of taking sanctuary which I distinguished at

the beginning of this Paper, and might have taken place in any church. The proceedings are, perhaps, more picturesque than usual, and the witnesses are persons of more than ordinary importance; but these features are accessory, and not of the essence of the ceremony. It is possible, no doubt, that the wretched man expected to get regular protection, so I judge from the words "propter immunitatem ibidem captandam;" but if so, he would find to his dismay that he was not eligible for admission as a "grithman," and so he was forced to save his life by the ordinary process of abjuration. Every detail of the entry is unique in the register, and every detail of the ordinary procedure is missing. Finally, there is no mention of the thirty-seven days. It is expressly stated that the whole episode, from the arrival of the fugitive to his departure, took place within the limits of one day, and no more. If this be a typical case, then the immunity of the Church of Durham and the liberty of St. Cuthbert were nothing but an empty phrase, and Durham Cathedral enjoyed no greater privileges than the meanest parish church in the country. Surely, the whole point lies in the fact that Colson's offence was committed within the county, and therefore it could not obtain regular sanctuary protection.

One more piece of evidence from another source. Among the demands put forward by the supporters of Aske's rebellion, at Doncaster, in 1536, the 19th article runs as follows:—

> "The liberties of the Church to have their old customs, *in the county palatine of Durham,* Beverley, Ripon, St. Peter's at York, and such other, by Act of Parliament."

After the suppression of the rebellion, we find Sir Francis Bigod endeavouring to obtain the restoration of certain Durham sanctuary-men, who had joined Aske, to their old position; and his application was supported by the Earl of Westmoreland, the Bishop of Durham, and the prior and convent. Why should he have taken this trouble, if these men could only have returned to Durham for an unexpended balance of thirty-seven days?

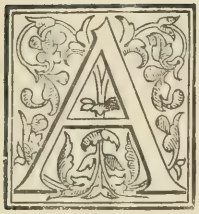
I claim, then, to have established two propositions:

(1) That crime committed within the precincts of a sanctuary could not obtain protection at that sanctuary; and (2) that crime committed within the County of Durham could not obtain protection at Durham. Surely, the inference to be drawn is that the real precinct of Durham sanctuary was the County Palatine itself; and this conclusion is supported by the direct and indirect evidence of the Cathedral registers. At any rate, such a conclusion accords better than any other with the mediæval reputation of St. Cuthbert and the princely position of the old-time Bishops of Durham; as well as with the view that while sanctuary rights had a religious origin, they were in their later phases based upon temporal jurisdiction. In the Bishopric of Durham, the temporal jurisdiction was more extensive than in any other liberty of the same class; and therefore it is only natural that the sanctuary privileges should have been correspondingly extensive.

BATH OLD BRIDGE AND THE CHAPEL THEREON.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

(*Read December 14th*, 1904.)



ALTHOUGH in early times towns and cities had their bridges which they kept in repair, it was not so with outlying places where a river was itself a fair defence; but a bridge, especially if unguarded, might be seized by some powerful lord, to the detriment of all travellers. Fords, too, were equally liable to this trouble. Thus the question of the origin of early bridges is of interest, as possibly leading to a knowledge of some curious point or episode in local or personal history. Any very early notice, however, can only be met with by chance. On making a reference to local histories it will be found that the writers say little or nothing of the bridges; necessarily so, because nothing was known about them. Yet, notwithstanding, bridges and bridge-building were matters of public importance and of general taxation, from which no one could be excused. Ducange mentions a guild of bridge-builders known as Fratres Pontis, the habit worn being white, with a cross on the breast.

The *Saxon Chronicle* tells us that after his attack on London, A.D. 1013, King Sweyne went "westward to Bath, and sat there with his force." To him came the western Thanes, and submitted and gave him hostages. Whether any Thane crossed the Avon by a bridge or by a ford the *Chronicle* is not minute enough to tell us.

Florence of Worcester and others mention the coming of a party from Bristol in rebellion against William Rufus, when Bath was burned and pillaged—William of Malmes-

bury says, depopulated. There is no intimation that it was approached by a bridge, or that it was a walled city, or that it offered resistance as if it were: yet soon after this destruction it certainly was so.

In A.D. 1138 the *Gesta Stephani*, after telling that Bristol Castle, vast and fearful to beholders, held by a garrison of freebooters and robbers, was terrible to the district, adds:—"There is a city six miles (error for twelve) from Bristol where hot springs circulating beneath the surface are conducted in channels artificially constructed, and are collected into an arched reservoir to supply the warm baths which stand in the middle of the place; most delightful to see, and beneficial to health. The city is called Batta, the name being derived from a word in the English tongue which signifies Bath, because infirm people resort to it from all parts of England for the purpose of washing themselves in these salubrious waters, and persons in health also assemble there to see the curious bubbling-up of the warm springs, and to use the baths."

By a little imagination we can here see Bath back to the Conquest; and if a gallery of minstrels be added, we have before us an exact picture of the place at a much later date.

A party then coming from the dreaded Bristol, carrying ladders and other necessaries for scaling the walls, were espied from within when a sally was made, and one of the foremost scouts, being taken prisoner, was cast into the dungeon. Here clearly walls are implied, but there is no mention of the use of a bridge. This may be because the attack came from Bristol, and consequently the approach was not from the south or by the river.

Again, Richard of Devizes, who was a friar of Witham, A.D. 1192, records certain instructions given by a French Jew to a boy he was sending to England, when advising him as to the desirability or advantages of certain cities for residence. Bath, he tells him, is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphurous vapour, as it were at the gates of hell. There is, however, no mention of the river.

In 1209 and in 1212,[1] and in 1213,[2] King John was at Bath, and again in 1216[3] when he came from Wells and must have crossed the river; but there is no mention of bridge or ford. Licences for pontage, *i.e.*, a duty paid on all articles carried across a bridge, can be occasionally found for other cities—neighbouring Bristol, for instance—but there is not one for Bath, this arising from the fact that the early bridge was some distance from the south gate, was not united to, did not form actually a part of the city.

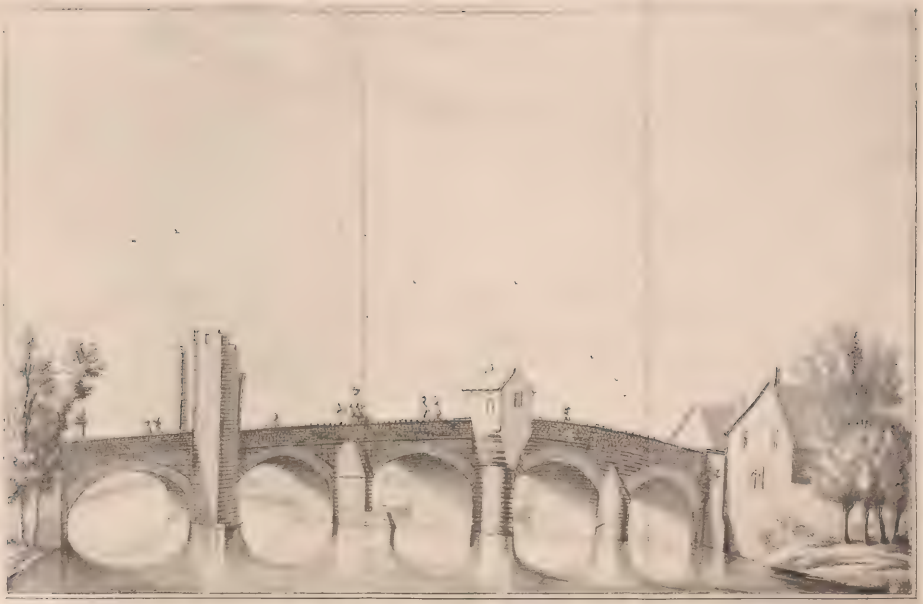
The first and only mention of a bridge is in 1273,[4] when Robert Cherin is recorded in the Hundred Rolls as holding a tenement within the city and a meadow without, for which he kept the gate of the bridge in time of war.

Although no earlier mention than 1273 can be given, there must with fair certainty have been a bridge before that. Such bridge, however, would have been more or less of wood. Ingulph in his *Chronicle*, under date A.D. 1085, makes an especial mention of the Fosse as one of four royal roads. Remembering the known great Roman city Bath was, and that the royal Fosse road passed not only through it but actually over the river, near about where the bridge is, the conclusion seems unavoidable that a Roman bridge must have been there. Such a bridge, again, would be of timber, laid level on stone piers.

The early local historians, knowing nothing of the early bridge, were in difficulties. Just a short notice here of what they have said will help us towards correctness hereafter.

First, then, quoting the history of Bath printed in 1791, which goes under the name of Collinson, although for the great part of it we must be indebted to Edmund Rack, on p. 35 it is said of the suburbs of the city: "Without the south gate a street called Horse Street leads to St. Lawrence gate and bridge over the Avon." There is no mention of a chapel; but relegated to a footnote there is added, alluding to the name of the bridge: "So denominated from a small chapel built upon one of

[1] *Itinerary.*
[2] *Rotulus Misæ*, 14 John.
[3] Close Rolls, 18 John.
[4] Hundred Rolls, Edwd. I.



An East view of Bath Bridge

the piers, and dedicated to St. Lawrence. The chapel was a kind of oratory, having a small recess for an altar, at which a priest celebrated mass and received the donations of passers-by." When writing of the adjoining parishes of Lyncombe and Widcombe on the south side of the river, there is added :—"The bridge was formerly narrow and incommodious, but in the year 1754 was almost entirely taken down and rebuilt." No references are given, as is so often the case in this work, and it may be seen the statements are not very strong, nor given from authority. The story is wrong then as to the saying of mass in the oratory, and a priest attending to receive donations. The recess noted—if it ever existed, for it must be remembered the bridge was gone when the paragraph was written—would be simply the resting-place of some painting, or for the image of a saint. There could be no altar in such a place, and mass could not be said save at a consecrated altar. Thus, in 1317, the rector of the church of Weston-in-Gordano, was excommunicated for so doing.[1] This little shelter, not large enough to be a chapel, was too deeply recessed to be called a niche, and would be better described as a "housing," a word found in early writings; or, better still, for our own information, to dissociate the idea of a chapel, a place for a passing prayer. Rack might have taken his notion from an earlier author, as Aubrey of Wiltshire, writing of Bradford Bridge, says : "here is a little chapel "as at Bath" for masse." A double meaning may be got here : first that the chapel was the same as at Bath, and that, as mass was said at Bath, therefore it was said at Bradford. The intention, however, was simply one of comparison ; there was no further special knowledge of fact. Bradford bridge is larger than was the one at Bath ; and although the present superstructure on Bradford bridge representing the chapel may not be quite on the same lines for size as the original, the original was but a "housing" somewhat larger than that at Bath. Examples of this class of bridge oratory were rare, and as that at Bradford is now perhaps unique, it should in case of any changes be carefully preserved.

[1] *Bishop Drokensford's Register*, by Hobhouse, p. 128.

Next in order comes the Rev. Richard Warner, whose history of Bath was published in 1801, ten years after Collinson and Rack. Writing of the Avon, he says: "At the southern end of the city this river is crossed by St. Lawrence bridge. This was built in 1754. It occupies the site of a very ancient but incommodious bridge, which was formerly covered with houses, and adorned with a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence." Warner here, in his desire to add to former accounts, falls into further error, the result perhaps of a careless reading. The *Bath Journal* of early in 1755 records that the bridge was being widened for the better passing of carriages, and that this work would redound to the credit of the city; but what exactly was done is not stated, nor does there seem to be any record. But by this "widening" and "rebuilding," the old bridge, with its chapel and gate, was destroyed. The widened bridge which "occupied its site" had no name, no dedication. This is all that can be said of the "built in 1754" of Warner, and the "rebuilt" of Collinson and Rack. The "rebuilt" of the latter, however, is rather qualified by "almost entirely taken down," which perhaps may mean that the new and widened bridge built on the old site incorporated in its foundations under water some portion of the old structure. Then, further, there were no houses on the bridge. Warner's authority for his assertion—a piece of information not given by Rack—must presumably be John Wood. Wood, a local architect, to whom—with his son—the finest buildings in Bath as seen to-day are due, says in his own history of Bath, printed 1740—five years before the bridge was destroyed—"St. Lawrence bridge consists of five arches. The top of the bridge is 11 ft. 6 ins. broad over the arches, but much wider over the abutments, and the buildings fronting it are the small chapel of St. Lawrence, elevated over one of the piers, and four dwelling-houses, erected on the banks of the river by the side of the butments of the bridge." We have here all that either Rack or Warner knew of the subject, although they do not acknowledge it; and it can be noted how Warner's attempt to elaborate caused him to err. Wood wrote from personal and professional

knowledge, and in using the word "butment" he does not mean buttress or pier, as Warner perhaps chose inadvertently to read it, but the land wall on either shore on which the last arch of the bridge on either side rested. The greater width, then, over the butments means that the shore ends widened out, and the houses mentioned were—as indeed, Wood plainly states—"on the banks of the river by the side of the butments." The chapel, he as plainly states, was on one of the "piers." Thus, there is no intention to convey the idea that there were any houses on the bridge. Indeed, with a width of 11 ft. 6 ins. only, there could be none. The unique and exquisite views taken in 1718, now in the British Museum, and here reproduced, preserve for us a clear idea of the structure: chapel, piers, gate, and butments, complete. Warner says again—but Rack does not—that in 14 Edward III, which would be A.D. 1340, "the bridge across the Avon was erected to avoid wading a ford a little above it, hitherto the common practice;" adding further that this especial inconvenience had been more marked since the grant to the priory of Lyncombe fair in A.D. 1304.

No authorities or references are given for these statements, and besides the absurdity of wading through such a stream to get to a fair, we now know that the bridge was there in 1273. Further, he adds, the prior obtained permission to build a chapel on the bridge, dedicated to St. Lawrence, to catch oblations from passers-by. Here again his imagination has aided his elaboration. At the larger places, or chapels proper, oblations were made; but there is no reason to suppose that such was the case in so small a place or in such a situation as this oratory. No permission would be necessary before building such a "housing," as there would be no episcopal consecration. Had any such thing occured at the date given by Warner, it would have been—but it is not—recorded in Bishop Drokensford's register. So small and public a place could hardly have been enclosed, although a door to ensure some privacy may have existed. A door is shown in the drawing; but it must be remembered that by the then date, the place, like that at Bradford, had long

passed from its original use. The city pay-rolls show a payment for pointing the chapel on the bridge, 19*d.*; and in 1589 for mending the chapel door on the bridge, 6*d.* In 1614, again, there was paid for a new door for the chapel on the bridge, and a lock and key for the same, 6*s.* By a lucky chance, after much searching, just one record was found: a reference to what must have been something very or exactly similar. In the return of the church goods of Derbyshire, there was at Stanton-next-Swerston, "a chappell edified and buylded uppon Trent in ye mydest of the greate streme anexed to Swerston bregge, the whiche had certayne stuffe belonging to it; ii desks to knele in, a tabell of wode, and certayne barres of yron and glasse in the wyndos." The word "table" here would be applied to a triptych or a painting, or to something written in table form, and not to a table in the usual domestic sense of the word. It can easily be imagined that such a furniture would suit exactly in the present case.

One reason perhaps why so little is known of this bridge is that whilst the citizens of Bath had the duty of keeping it in repair, it was not quite within the city bounds. The suburb of Southgate-street was included for taxing purposes, but it was not until the extension of the bounds by the charter of Elizabeth, in 1590, that the bridge was absorbed. The charter starts the boundary from the "south end" of the bridge, where the "two images of a lion and a bear engraven in stone are erected;" and then passing through the river westward, it presently turns eastward to Walcot church, and then southward, and back through the river again to the "south end" of the bridge. In the drawings the lion and bear mentioned are seen on two columns, officially there as being the supporters of the Bath arms. Having no documentary evidence to determine absolutely the date or time of building of this bridge, a general survey or examination must be made to help as much as possible. Taking first the east view—that is here the view of the east side, or looking west—it will be seen that two of the piers are round, perhaps because the rush of the river was not fierce thereabouts, and on one, or as part of one of these,

The first Prospect of Bath Bridge

stands the oratory. The other two piers are angular, forming cutwaters in the usual way; the outer, or southern, being carried up, forms the side of the gateway, whilst the other, towards the middle of the river, has its base levelled as a standing or refuge for anyone unfortunate enough to require it. There seems, however, something wrong, as it is apparent that the oratory here is in the centre of the rise or arc of a bridge of four arches, the land on the north forming one end, the gateway on the south the other. The southern, or fifth arch, too, is somewhat flatter than the others. Hereby the difficulty is removed, as it may be judged that in the place of this fifth arch in the olden time was the drawbridge.

Taking next the west view, or view of the western side; here the piers, having no water resistance, are now all flat. Both the lion and the bear are seen distinctly *in situ.* In 1677, Henry Pitcher was granted his freedom of the city for setting up the bear and lion upon the bridge; and in 1717, John Pitcher freemason, in consideration of his having put up at his own charges "ye images of a lyon and a bear at ye foot of ye bridge," was also made a freeman. The front of the oratory shows some indented or sunken carvings of armorials, unfortunately not clear enough for definition; but beyond this no special architectural detail is visible. A thirteenth-century bridge would be flat or level on the roadway, the arches, narrow or close together, would be somewhat pointed, and turned on a distinctive, rather rough moulding. Perhaps the view of Bristol Old Bridge, as given in Seyer's *History of Bristol,* vol. ii, p. 14, the houses being removed, will help to give an idea of what the Bath earliest bridge was like. In the drawings we have fine and well-turned arches, and a rise to the centre, all and each distinctive of a late date. After this examination and generally, the judgment is that this bridge as seen in the drawings, excepting the gate, is a quite late fifteenth-century structure. In the changes then made, the gate and drawbridge of the earlier bridge were allowed to remain. This gate is Norman in character, and besides bearing every appearance of antiquity, is not a gate that would have been built very

late in the fifteenth century. The *Magna Britannia*, printed in 1727—the first local history—says: "A street leads to South Gate, and then along the suburbs to the bridge laid over the Avon, in the middle of which is an old gateway." This, however, is not quite exact, as the drawings show the gate, not in the middle but on the next arch southward of it. The writer, however, recognises a difference when he writes of "an old gateway," thus implying that it was visibly older than the bridge. When the drawbridge was abolished, its place was taken by another arch. In 1628 there was a payment "for rearing of an artch at the bridge gate and for six sacks of lime, £1 4*s*."

The drawbridge gone, the bridge, being then unguarded, became rather a source of weakness than strength in time of trouble. Thus it happened in the Civil War, when, in July, 1645, Fairfax sent two companies of dragoons to Bath, no opposition was offered here, nor until the city gate was reached. In the time of Monmouth's rebellion the bridge was ordered to be destroyed, but the quick march of events prevented this, as it became unnecessary.

One more point must be mentioned. As already noticed, the actual only authority for much that Warner has said must be John Wood; but Wood, when writing on any but his own subject—architecture—must not be too easily credited. Wood, then, is the first who says, without giving reference or authority, that this bridge and chapel were dedicated to St. Lawrence. Save that the Barton fair was held on St. Lawrence Day, the saint seems hardly localised. St. Katherine should have the dedication, especially when all surroundings are considered, she being everywhere present within and without the city. Her image, to which oblations and gifts were made, stood in Stalls Church, now gone, but practically the parish church of Lyncombe and Widcombe, although divided by the river. In the old oath, too, taken by a freeman, he swore "Seynt Katern day to kepe holy day, and Seynt Katern chapell and the brygge help to mentayne and to susteyne;" thus showing a very close association, and prompting the assertion that the stated dedication to St. Lawrence must be wrong.

DYRHAM PARK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

By Rev. W. S. BLATHWAYT.

(*Read at the Bath Congress*, 1904.)

THIS place, near the old forest of Kingswood, which stretched from near Bristol towards Gloucester, takes its old name of Deorham from the wild animals abounding in those woods. It is famous from the battle, in 577, which decided the fate of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. Ceawlin, coming from Marlborough way, defeated the kings of those places somewhere near the camp still to be seen on Hinton Hill in this parish, and drove in a wedge which separated the British south of the Avon from their kindred in Wales, etc. Freeman speaks of this battle as one of the decisive fights in our history.

In 1086, William FitzWido held Dyrham. Later it was held by the Newmarches, whose descendant carried it to Ralph Russell. It came down to Sir Maurice, who died in 1401, and whose brass is in the south aisle of the church. His elder daughter, Margaret, married Sir Gilbert Dennis, whose family held much land in Syston and Pucklechurch. In 1422 he bought the rest of the manor, which his sister-in-law, Isabel, had carried to her husband, Sir John Drayton. The manor passed by sale or mortgage to George Wynter, brother of Sir William, of Lydney, in 1571. His monument is in the south aisle of the church, with effigies of himself and his wife, Ann Brain. His son John sailed with Drake, and the property was left in trust "till he should have cleared himself of the charge of piracy." He left a son, Sir George, who married Mary Rogers, of Cannington, and brought Porlock, Somerset, into the family. Mary, the daughter of John Wynter, married, in 1686, William Blathwayt at one time

Clerk to Privy Council to Charles, James, and William III, and Secretary of State for War to William, and for a short time to Anne; he was also at one time Commissioner for "Trades and Plantations."

The house contains traces of Tudor work, and has been much added to. The east front was finished after designs by Talman, and is figured in *Vitruvius Britannicus*. In the view by Kip in Atkyn's *History of Gloucestershire*, the extensive gardens, in the prevailing Dutch style, are shown laid out by William Blathwayt, of which many traces are visible.

In the house are many relics of those times in pictures, furniture, and Delft-ware. There are portraits of Charles I, Charles II, and James II, William and Mary (together with an early one of William), Anne, George of Denmark, and their boy; Louis XIV, Duc d'Orleans, Lauzun, Thomas Killigrew; besides many family pictures. Others are examples of Hoogestraeten, Hondekoeter, Baptiste, de Heem, Mytens, Snyders and Murillo, of which last there is a copy by Gainsborough. A quantity of stamped Cordova leather and tapestry are hung on the walls of some rooms. Many of the high-backed chairs of William III, and Anne's time still retain their old velvet covers. In a cabinet is a "Martel de fer," found in the end of the eighteenth century, in a stone coffin at Langridge, the silver ornamentation of which Mr. Planché, many years ago, said was Saracenic.

From this place Lord Wilmot went to Abbotsleigh to arrange for the reception at Trent of Charles II after his flight from Worcester (Frances, wife of John Wynter, being a Gerard). In the library are found many old books, some of the sixteenth century and many of the seventeenth, together with a curious MS. Vulgate of Edward I, an illuminated Chronicle, and others of interest, such as copies of letters of Mazarin, Sir George Downing, etc., and charters copied into MS. books. A curious MS. account, written in French, of the march of William of Orange from Torbay to London, shows the route taken by the Court, and different branches of troops: illustrated by a coloured series of maps. Another book of interest is a collection of maps of the "Plantations," some MSS. on vellum, and others are printed.

British Archaeological Association.

SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS,

READING, 1905.

MONDAY, JULY 17TH, TO SATURDAY, JULY 22ND.

PATRONS.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF BERKSHIRE, J. H. BENYON, ESQ.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.
THE HIGH SHERIFF OF BERKS., ALFRED PALMER, ESQ.
THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF READING.

AND

THE LADY WANTAGE, PATRONESS.

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THE MAYOR OF READING, MARTIN JOHN SUTTON, ESQ., J.P.

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The Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., F.S.A.,
Barkham Rectory, Wokingham.

Hon. Congress Secretary and Treasurer—

Charles J. Williams,
45, Birkenhead Avenue, Kingston-on-Thames.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 17TH, 1905.

The Sixty-Second Annual Congress of the Association opened at Reading, and was attended by a large number of members and their friends, who will retain pleasant memories of the hospitality afforded them in the Royal County of Berks. At 2.30 p.m. the members of the Congress assembled in the Council Chamber, and were received by the Mayor, who was attended by the Town Clerk. The Mayor gave a hearty welcome to the Association, and expressed the great pleasure which the visit conferred on the town of Reading. Mr. R. E. Leader, President of the Congress in 1903 and 1904, on behalf of the Association, thanked the Mayor for the very hearty reception given them, and hoped that true archæological research—the great object of the Association—might be promoted by the Congress.

The members then visited the Reading Museum, where they were received by Alderman Blands, Chairman of the Museum and Library Committee. The Museum is especially rich in Roman antiquities, the result of the excavations carried on by the Society of Antiquaries during the last fifteen years at Silchester. In the absence through illness of Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., the Curator of the Silchester collection, Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., who has superintended the excavations for many years, described the progress of the work, and the remarkable specimens of pottery, ironwork, glass, tiles, tools, coins, etc., a collection of exceptional interest as containing a great mass of objects gathered from one site. The architectural section, containing examples of sculptured capitals, models of houses, building and roofing tiles, hypocausts, etc., was then examined; and much of interest was found in the General Museum, with its fine collection of prehistoric antiquities, principally amassed by the late Dr. Stevens, a member of the Association; numerous Saxon relics from two cemeteries discovered in the town, relics of Reading Abbey, and Egyptian antiquities. Mr. Shrubsole, Curator of the Geological and Prehistoric Section, gave a brief description.

The party then visited the ruins of Reading Abbey, passing on the

way the only remains of the fortifications reared during the Civil War. Dr. J. B. Hurry, the author of a notable work on the Abbey, told the story of the rise and fall of this once magnificent monastery, founded by Henry I in 1121, and dissolved by Henry VIII in 1539. It covered a site of thirty acres, and was bounded by a high wall on all sides except the south, which was guarded by the Kennet and Holy Brook. Of this wall only a small portion remains, and all the four entrance-gateways have disappeared, but the inner gateway exists in a restored condition, and is the headquarters of the Berks Archæological Society. Of the church, fragments of the north and south transepts remain, stripped of the finished mason-work. The bases of two pillars of the central tower, the walls of the Chapter-house and portions of the cloisters, refectory, dormitory, *domus necessariæ*, and hospitium survive, but almost all the stonework has been removed, leaving only the core of compact flint rubble. In the Abbey Gate, the Berks Archæological Society entertained the members to tea; and a visit was then paid to the Church of St. Laurence, which was described by Mr. Charles E. Keyser, F.S.A., who drew attention to its historical associations, to the brasses, doorways, and panels, and to the paintings which once adorned its walls. The Church of Greyfriars was then examined, under the direction of the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A. The Franciscans established themselves in the town in A.D. 1233, on a site nearer the river, which proved to be unhealthy. Fifty-two years later, the present site was assigned to them. At the Dissolution, the church was granted to the town for a Guildhall, and then converted into a prison, the aisles being used as cells, and the roof of the nave removed. It was restored to its sacred uses in 1864.

In the evening, the members were entertained by the Mayor and Mayoress at a Conversazione in the Town Hall, to which a large number of residents in the town and neighbourhood were invited. During the evening, Mr. Charles Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., Chairman of the Local Committee and President of the Berks Archæological Society, delivered the Inaugural Address. The Mayor, as President of the Congress, heartily thanked Mr. Keyser, and Mr. Leader, who seconded the vote, also expressed the appreciation by the members of the brilliant welcome extended to them. Mr. Charles Lynam, F.S.A., proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Sutton for their kind hospitality, and this was seconded by Mr. Charles J. Williams (Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Congress), who asked leave to associate as a supporter of the motion the name of Mr. George Patrick, the Hon. Secretary of the Association, who for many years had done it such loyal service.

TUESDAY, JULY 18TH, 1905.

The party, which numbered about eighty, left Reading station at 8.53 A.M. for Mortimer, whence they drove to the Roman City of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*). Mr. Mill Stephenson conducted the party to the Amphitheatre, situate outside the city walls and approached through a postern gate, It consisted of mounds of earth, and had tiers of turf seats; but it was probably used for bear-baiting and cock-fighting, and not for gladiatorial combats. Local tradition still calls it the "Lion's Den." The walls of the city, constructed of flints bonded with stone and having ironstone foundations, were then examined. They are a mile and three-quarters in length, and in some places rise to a height of 16 ft. Mr. Stephenson described the progress of the excavations, explained the plan of the city, the Basilica and Forum, and told the story of the gradual decay of Silchester. He explained the necessity of covering up the excavations on account of the destructive action of frost and rain: it was a national disgrace to have allowed the only Roman Forum left in England to fall into a heap of stones. After an inspection of the houses in Insula V, which were in process of excavation, Mr. Leader thanked Mr. Stephenson, and said that he was doing a national work for which all should be grateful.

The party then drove to Pamber Church, the chapel of the Benedictine Priory of Sherborne, founded by Henry de Port in the twelfth century. The church—which was described by Mr. Keyser—originally consisted of a short nave without aisles, choirs, transepts, central tower and two chantry chapels. The Priory was attached to the monastery of St. Vigor, in Normandy, and was surpressed as an alien Priory in 1417; the nave, transepts, and chantries were destroyed; the tower was converted into a kind of porch, and the choir retained as the church of the parish. The church dates from the twelfth century; but alterations were made in the thirteenth. At the suppression, Henry VI granted the church to Eton College; afterwards it belonged to the *Domus Dei* at Southampton, and at the Dissolution it passed to Queen's College, Oxford. Its most interesting features are the piscina, the monumental slabs, and the recumbent wooden effigy of a cross-legged knight—supposed to represent John de Port, son of the founder, but pronounced by Mr. Keyser to be of later date.

The next place visited was Aldermaston Court, the residence of Mr. Keyser, who hospitably entertained the members to luncheon, a cordial vote of thanks to him and Mrs. Keyser being moved by Mr. Richard

Horsfall.—Mr. Keyser then sketched the history of the estate. The manor was one of the possessions of Earl Harold, and many of the trees were older than his time, one being known as the Conqueror's tree. Henry I gave the manor to Sir Robert Achard; William Achard gave the church to the Priory of Sherborne. The estate passed, in 1358, to the De le Mares, and then to the Forsters. Sir George Forster's monument in the church is one of the finest alabaster tombs in England. In 1711 the manor passed to the Congreves, then to Mr. Higford Burr, and finally to the present squire. The house, erected by Sir Humphrey Forster in 1636, was burnt down in 1843; but the chimneys, the carved oak staircase, and some ancient glass have been preserved. The church was then visited, and described by Mr. Keyser. The oldest portion is the west door (A.D. 1130 to 1150). The chancel was built about 1250; the nave, which is Decorated work, was finished in 1280 or 1300; the tower was added a hundred years later, and the west window is Perpendicular. There are two low-side and two high-side windows, the latter being used for the service in the rood-loft, some interesting thirteenth-century glass, and some mural paintings—a thirteenth-century St. Christopher, and one which Mr. Keyser supposes to depict the consecration of St. Nicholas.

Leaving Aldermaston, the party visited the little apsidal Norman church of Padworth, where some early mural paintings have been found: one of Norman date, the legend of St. Nicholas and the Three Children, can be clearly seen. The chancel arch, consecration crosses, and the doorways are the principal features of the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser.

Ufton Court, a fine example of an Elizabethan mansion, was next visited, and its history was described by Miss Sharp. It was built in the latter part of the sixteenth century by Lady Mervyn, who left it to her first husband's nephew, Francis Parkyns. The oldest part is the kitchen. The east front, where the hall and principal chambers are situated, is the work of Lady Mervyn. The house was much altered in Queen Anne's time by Francis Parkyns, who married Arabella Fermor, the heroine of "The Rape of the Lock." The family were recusants, and the house contains an oratory, chapel, and two hiding-places. Miss Sharp kindly entertained the party to tea.

At the Evening Meeting, Mr. Andrew Oliver gave an interesting account of the Brasses of Berkshire, illustrated by excellent rubbings. Mr. R. H. Forster being absent through illness, his Paper was postponed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19TH, 1905.

A party (limited to sixty, owing to transit difficulties) left Reading t 8.50 A.M. for Lambourn, and proceeded to the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser. The nave is very Late-Norman work, with a good clerestory. The rebuilding of the church was begun about A.D. 1170, starting at the west end and working eastwards, pure Transitional work being found in the tower arches. The chantry chapels, founded by the Estbury family, were inspected. In one of them is the tomb of John Estbury, rebuilder of St. Mary's Chapel, with a brass placed there by his son Thomas in 1400. On the arch of this chapel is an *alto-relievo* representation of a greyhound coursing a hare, and men blowing horns. The monuments of Sir Thomas Essex and Margaret his wife, erected in 1558, in the chapel of St. Catherine, are fine examples of alabaster work. The church has several good brasses, some old plate and chests, and an early font of Norman date. Afterwards, the site of Canute's palace, the fifteenth-century market cross, and the source of the Lambourn stream, were visited.

During the drive to White Horse Hill, a halt was made at Ashdown Park to inspect the numerous Sarsen stones which abound there ; and the party proceeded along the old Ridgeway to Wayland Smith's Cave. Mr. Money explained that it was a denuded chambered long barrow, with an encircling ditch. It is alluded to in a charter of Eadred of 935, and is a good instance of the value of planting as a means of preserving ancient earthworks. The party then climbed to Uffington Castle, a Celtic stronghold with very perfect earthen ramparts, from which a fine view was obtained extending over ten counties. Mr. Theodore White pointed out the objects of interest in sight, including the famous "White Horse," 380 ft. long and 10 ft. to 15 ft. wide, cut out in the chalk hill. He upheld the tradition that it was cut out by Alfred's men to commemorate his victory over the Danes, this spot being, he maintained, the site of the battle. He also described the old festival of "the Scouring," as depicted by the late Judge Hughes.

At Sparsholt, the "Blowing Stone," a Celtic relic, erroneously called "King Alfred's Bugle-horn," was made to give forth its weird note, and a visit was paid to the church, which Mr. Keyser described. It was originally cruciform, but the north transept was pulled down in the eighteenth century. There are two Late-Norman doorways, the nave and lower portion of the tower belonging to the same period. The church contains a fine Easter sepulchre, the cross-legged effigy of Sir Robert Achard, a curious squint, a very Early Norman font, some

fourteenth-century glass, a fourteenth-century screen, several brasses and a chapel built by the last of the Achards, with beautiful monumental recesses, and the effigies of the knight and his two wives.

The party then drove to Wantage, and returned to Reading. In the evening, an interesting Paper was read by the Rev. J. E. Field on "The History of Wallingford," and Mr. I. Chalkley Gould lectured on "The Walls of Wallingford."

THURSDAY, JULY 20TH, 1905.

The members left Caversham Bridge at 9.30 a.m. in a launch, and journeyed to Wallingford, the river excursion proving very enjoyable. At Wallingford they were met by the Rev. J. E. Field and the Rev. A. W. N. Deacon, Rector of St. Mary's. After lunch they visited the market-place, with its ancient bull-ring, the Carolean Town Hall, and Church of St. Mary, where tradition says the first curfew was rung. At St. Leonard's Church Mr. Field pointed out some pre-Norman carving, and a doorway in the south wall, with a triangular arch supported by a wooden frame. Mr. Gould pointed out that the rampart which anciently protected the church had been levelled, but the brook which ran through the fosse still remained. Mr. Tudor kindly permitted an inspection of his residence outside the eastern vallum; and after viewing the earthworks which surround Kine Croft, the members were received at the Castle by Miss Hedges. The triple line of earthworks, indicating the outer and inner castle moats and the town moats, were examined, and also the museum, where the owners of the Castle have stored many objects of interest discovered in the town. On the return to the river Mr. Field pointed out the old bridge, which is said to date from the reign of John, and was improved by Richard, King of the Romans. During the siege of the town in the Civil Wars, two of the southern arches were removed, and a drawbridge erected. The party then returned to Reading by river.

In the evening a lecture on "The History of Abingdon" was read by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., who also exhibited a collection of old Berkshire prints and engravings.

FRIDAY, JULY 21ST, 1905.

Leaving Reading at 9.51 a.m., the members went by train to Culham, and drove to Sutton Courtenay, a former possession of the Abbey of Abingdon. Mr. Ditchfield explained that there were two manors here: one held by the King, and granted to Reginald

Courtenay by Henry II, and the Abbey Manor, granted after the Dissolution to Lord Wriothesly. The old manor-house has a Norman doorway, and, as Mr. Lynam pointed out, must have been the chapel attached to the manor. The fourteenth-century "Abbey," or manor-house, was described by Mr. Ditchfield. The party then visited the church, which was described by Mr. Keyser. The porch has a parvise, and over the entrance is a carving of a flaming beacon, one of the badges of Henry V, and also the arms of the Compton family. The tower ranges from Norman to Early English; the original chancel-arch was displaced in the fourteenth century and re-erected in the south arcade. The doorway, arcades, and clerestory are Decorated, and the church has some Perpendicular windows, a Jacobean pulpit, two altar-tombs, and a double piscina of the fourteenth century.

On arriving at Abingdon, the members were received by the Mayor in the Town Hall. Alderman Harris exhibited the municipal plate, and the Town Clerk described the charters. Luncheon was served in the Council Chamber, and the Mayor gave an interesting account of the portraits which hang there. A visit was then paid to the remains of the Abbey, which were described by Mr. H. Redfern, who thought that the so-called "Prior's house" was the residence of the official in charge of the exchequer, and that the adjoining building was the infirmary. The churches of St. Nicholas and St. Helen were described by Mr. J. G. T. West and Mr. Keyser; and the story of Christ's Hospital, with its treasures of ancient documents and curious portraits, was told by Alderman J. T. Morland, the Clerk of the Governors.

In the evening, Mr. W. M. Childs, Principal of University College, Reading, gave an interesting lecture on "The Place of Reading in the National History." Mr. C. J. Williams's Paper on "The Commercial Aspect of Reading in the Middle Ages" was postponed.

SATURDAY, JULY 22ND, 1905.

The members travelled to Newbury, where, after a reception by the Mayor in the Council Chamber, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., gave a short account of the history of the town. A visit was then paid to the Church of St. Nicholas, which was described by Mr. Money. This church is particularly interesting, as having been built entirely in the reign of Henry VIII by the famous Jack of Newbury. After a short visit to the Cloth Hall and Museum, the party drove to Shaw House, a fine Elizabethan residence built by Sir Thomas Dolman, 1581. The drive was then continued to Donnington Castle, where the members

were cordially welcomed by Mrs. Sperling. After an inspection of the Castle, which stands at a height of 403 ft. above sea level, and commands a magnificent view, Mr. Money, who is the author of several books on the subject, gave a graphic account of the origin of the Castle and its gallant defence by Sir John Boys. In order that the members might have the full benefit of listening to so great an authority, the time allotted was extended to fifty minutes. Mr. Money clearly explained the movements of the Royal and Parliamentary Forces in the second battle of Newbury, and mentioned that £500 or £600 were spent weekly on the works necessary for the defence of the Castle. The old farmhouse, now Mrs. Sperling's residence, was described as the Hougomont of the position in the last days of the siege. Some of the outworks were as perfect as if they had been thrown up yesterday.

The members were then most hospitably entertained to luncheon by Mrs. Sperling, to whom a hearty vote of thanks was passed on the motion of Mr. C J. Williams, seconded by Mr. W. E. Hughes; while the Rev. Dr. Russell proposed, and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Money. This concluded the business of a highly successful Congress. The arrangements made by the Hon. Congress Secretary worked excellently throughout; and it was generally agreed that the members of the Congress had spent an instructive and pleasurable week.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12TH, 1905.

MR. C. H. COMPTON, V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology," 21, and Parts 1 and 2, vol. xxii.

,, Do., for "Proceedings of the Devonport Academy of Sciences," vol. ix, 1901-3.

,, Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. xii, Part 2, 3rd Series.

,, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for "Proceedings," 1903-4.

,, Museo Nacional, Mexico, for "Proceedings," Tomo 2, Num. i, Enero 1905.

Mr. Emmanuel Green exhibited a fine example of a moneyer's weight in bronze (Portuguese), of about A.D. 1600, and equivalent to the weight of £3 12*s.* of our coinage. Dr. W. de Gray Birch exhibited an Egyptian vase of terra-cotta, supposed to be of about 5000 B.C. ; also a very elegant vase from Cyprus, of about 1500 B.C., both of the character known as libatory vessels.

Mr. C. Dack, of Peterborough, read a Paper on "Folk and Weather-lore of Peterborough and District," in continuation of a previous contribution.

An interesting discussion followed, in which the chairman, Mr. E. Green, Mr. Milward, Mr. Rayson, and others, took part.

The Paper will be published.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3RD, 1905.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result:—

President.

THE MAYOR OF READING—M. J. SUTTON, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE RIGHT REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., LATE BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THOMAS HODGKIN, ESQ., D.C.L., F.S.A.; COL. SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.; R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A.
C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.
THE VERY REV. DEAN OF DURHAM.
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
PROF. FERGUSSON, LL.D.
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ROBERT HOVENDEN, ESQ., F.S.A.
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R. DUPPA LLOYD, ESQ., F.R.Hist.Soc.
CHARLES LYNAM, ESQ., F.S.A.
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Honorary Secretaries.

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THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt. D., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.Soc.

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C. J. WILLIAMS, ESQ.
T. CATO WORSFOLD, ESQ., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, ESQ. | R. BAGSTER, ESQ.

The Rev. Dr. Astley, *Hon. Editorial Secretary*, read the following:—

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1904.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1904.

"(1) The membership of the Association has continued practically stationary during the year 1904. This is due to the fact that the Congress at Bath, in marked contrast with the very successful one held at Sheffield in the previous year, brought in no accession of new members; and also to the fact that no startling discoveries on the part of any member have led to such an influx as Mr. Nichols was able to gather in during 1903. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming Congress at Reading will be more after the Sheffield lines, both in this respect and financially; but, above all, it is to the enthusiasm of individual members that the Association must look now, as in the past, for the maintenance and increase of its members. If each Associate would only bring in one other during 1905, our numbers would be immediately doubled.

"(2) Obituary notices of Associates are inserted as opportunity offers.

"(3) Twenty-three of the Papers read at the Sheffield Congress, and during the winter in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1904, which is illustrated with thirty-three plates and process-blocks, many of which were contributed by the writers of the Papers, to whom the Council hereby accords hearty thanks. A considerable stock of Papers is in the hands of the Editor, of which those approved by the Council will be published as the space at his disposal permits.

"(4) Local members of Council, and the Associates individually, are once more earnestly invited to forward accounts, and, if possible, photographs or illustrations, of new antiquarian discoveries and interesting events at the earliest opportunity: by which means alone can the *Journal* be kept up-to-date, and the interest of the meetings be sustained.

"(5) Lastly, the Hon. Secretaries would urge upon all Associates, and more particularly those residing in or near London, the duty of themselves attending the evening meetings of the Association during the Winter Session and the Annual Congress in the Summer; and by introducing friends to these, of widening the field of its operations, and thus the more readily securing new adherents.

"H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, }
"GEO. PATRICK, } *Hon Secs.*"

May 3rd, 1905.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Treasurer, read the following:—

Treasurer's Report.

"The Hon. Treasurer begs to lay before this meeting the usual Balance Sheet, showing the financial condition of the Association on

British Archaeological Association.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	193	4	0
,, Entrance Fees	2	2	0
,, Sale of Books	19	11	7
,, Interest on Savings Bank Deposit, etc.	3	18	1
,, Balance—Deficit for Year	28	3	6
	£246	19	2

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
By Printing and Illustrating *Journal*	143	13	9
,, Delivery of *Journals*, Postages, etc.	12	16	3
,, Advertising in the *Athenæum*	3	19	4
,, Allowance to Treasurer	30	0	0
,, Editorial Expenses	21	1	0
,, Secretary's Expenses	8	7	6
,, Rent for Year	13	13	0
,, Loss on Bath Congress	3	13	10
,, Purchase of Archæological Index and other Publications	5	3	9
,, Tea, etc., at Evening Meetings	2	6	7
,, Sundry Expenses	2	4	2
	£246	19	2

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

Liabilities.	£	s.	d.
To Creditors—Printing December *Journal*	44	16	6
,, Balance—Surplus	399	4	7
	£444	1	1

Assets.	£	s.	d.
By Stock of *Journals*, etc., at Mr. Nutt's, estimated at	100	0	0
,, Valuation of Library at University College	250	0	0
,, Investment in Consols	12	1	0
,, Deposit in Savings Bank	53	17	8
,, Cash at Bank	28	2	5
	£444	1	1

We have examined the Books and Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be correct. In accordance with the directions of the Council, the above Statement is cast in the form of an Income and Expenditure Account, showing the actual working of the Association during the Year 1904; and a Balance-Sheet, showing the financial position at the end of the year.

(Signed) R. H. Forster, Cecil T. Davis } *Auditors.*

31st December, 1904, from which it is made evident that the last year closed with a deficit of £28 3*s.* 6*d.* expenditure over annual income. This arises from the failure of the Bath Congress to produce any financial benefit to the Society. The lesson to be learned from this seems to be that the proceeds of the Congress should not be trusted to for helping to liquidate the annual expenses of the Association; and the Hon. Treasurer would earnestly suggest to the Society that for the future no reliance should be placed on Congress profits, which, when they arise, should be saved or capitalised, and added to the investments accounts. By these means, while the assured income would be spent in current expenses, a fund would be gradually accumulated which could not but be of material advantage. The Treasurer also deplores the large number of defaulting subscribers, of whom fifteen for 1903 and twenty-five for 1904 still remain defaulters, in spite of repeated applications. He hopes that the rule about to be made will effectually deal with this source of trouble."

Wednesday, May 17th, 1905.

Dr. W. de Gray Birch in the Chair.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Brussels Archæological Society, for "Report," 1905, Parts 1 and 2.

,, Royal Institute of British Architects, for "Journal," vol. xii, Nos. 11 to 15, 1905.

,, Royal Dublin Society, for vol. viii, Parts 6 to 16, and Index, vol. ix, Part 1; vol. x, Part 2; vol. i, Part 5.

,, Smithsonian Institution, for "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. xi, Part 3, 1905.

,, Author, for "Index to Excavations in Cranborne Chase and King John's House, Pollard Royal," Part 5, by Harold St. George Gray.

Mr. Selley exhibited, through the Rev. Dr. Astley, some fine specimens of Palæolithic flint implements, consisting of arrowheads (some barbed, others leaf-shaped), scrapers, some fragments of rough black pottery, and a worked piece of lead, probably Roman, all of which he had recently found at Failand and Shirehampton. Failand is six miles from Bristol and two miles from Cadbury camp.

Mr. Emmanuel Green exhibited a coach glass, so called: a rare and curious example of a wine-glass formerly used by travellers, or when

on the grand tour with the usual English travelling coach or chariot. It has no foot or base, so that it cannot stand upright, but the stem terminates in a ball, in this case beautifully cut. The use would seem to have been to pack in a provision basket, and for such purpose it is well suited, being unusually strong and heavy. Some instances of preparations for a start were given, in which every conceivable necessary seemed to have been carried; especially was a basked filled with provisions and some of the best wine, sufficient for three days. The date of origin of these glasses would probably be the time of the Regency, as after an official announcement of July 12th, 1815, that intercourse with the Continent was re-established, travelling began briskly, from trips to the field of Waterloo to the longer tour to Italy.

A Paper on "The Church and Parish of Chesham, Bucks, otherwise Chesham Leicester and Woburn," was read by the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, who said the Chess valley, surrounded by thickly-wooded hills and plantations, was full of interest. Chesham largely partakes of the diversified character of the Chiltern district, and in very early times was the home of a branch of the great Celtic family. Just enough is known of Roman occupation to establish it. Referring to the place-names, Mr. Evelyn-White was disinclined to accept a suggested derivation from the non-navigable stream the Chess, preferring to take its etymon from *cestor*, as indicating a Romano-British stronghold, and gave instances of like use. Chesham, at the Domesday period, its several manors and lords, its tenures, the chief families, and the hamlets (particularly Isel-hampstead or Latimers), were severally dealt with. The early village life, as reflected in the open-field system, and seen in the hillside "balks" or "terrains," was traced. The church of St. Mary, restored under Sir Gilbert Scott (a fine cruciform building, mainly of thirteenth- and fifteenth-century date), was fully described, and the numerous interesting features (including a stoup in the porch having a crucifix above, low-side windows, wall paintings, etc.) commented upon. The tombs and mural monuments are particularly noteworthy, while the remains of Norman work are important. The abbeys of Leicester and Woburn held the medieties of the church, the vicars officiating probably at their respective altars, and at a later time by turns. There may, in early days, have been two churches; but this is purely a matter of conjecture. Mr. Evelyn-White also remarked on the mediæval church life of Chesham, the days of religious persecution and civil war, witchcraft, epidemics, holy wells, mills, old inns, trades, names, odd characters, and fanatics; but lack of time obliged him to omit reference to the parish registers and the Bowles MSS. The paper was illustrated by many lantern-slides taken by Miss Keating, of Chesham.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21st, 1905.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, communicated a discovery of much interest recently made by Don Enrique Salas, in excavating upon land belonging to him in the Province of Murcia, in Spain.[1] The discovery consists of thirty-one objects in red and black clay of the Celtiberian period. A careful drawing of one of the subjects on a cinerary urn, in red colour, was submitted as a specimen. This represented two warriors: one on foot, with shield and dart; the other on horseback, with a dart; while a third is lying on the ground, seemingly pierced with a dart.

Dr. Birch remarked at some length upon the exhibit, and Dr. H. J. D. Astley considered the illustration showed evidence of Mycænean civilization. These interesting objects have been deposited temporarily by the owner in the National Archæological Museum of Madrid.

A paper was read by Dr. Astley on the "Ninth Iter of Antoninus, with Special Reference to the Sites of Sitomagus and Venta Icenorum." This was a carefully-reasoned argument in favour of the views of the older antiquaries, as Camden and Sir Thomas Browne, that Caistor and Thetford are the true sites of Venta Icenorum and Sitomagus, in opposition to modern theories which assign to Norwich and Dunwich that identification. Although the latter theory is ably supported by the learned antiquary Dr. Raven, Dr. Astley contended that it was improbable and untenable with reference to the *Itinerary* of Antoninus and the Tabula Peutingeriana. The Tabula Peutingeriana is a copy made in the thirteenth century of the only Roman map of the Imperial epoch that has come down to us. It derives its name from Conrad Peutinger, of Augsburg, who possessed it in the sixteenth century; and it is now preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna. On the original map of the Roman Empire the British section is, unfortunately, imperfect, the section to the west and north of *Ad Tuum* being missing, and Venta Icenorum does not appear. For Venta Icenorum, the chief centre and emporium of trade, the *market* of the Iceni, in Roman times, we must look in a locality where everything will prove its importance during the period of the Roman occupation; and nowhere is there a more fitting situation than that of Caistor, with its mighty camp and remains of Roman residences in the

[1] This exhibit will be more fully described, with an illustration of the objects, in our "Antiquarian Intelligence," or as a Paper later on.

neighbourhood. In like manner, Thetford also provides just the site that the Romans would fix upon for a station; and when the data of the *Itinerary* and the Tabula are taken together, the conclusion appears to be irresistible that Thetford is the true site of Sitomagus.

Mr. Emmanuel Green, Mr. Gould, Dr. Birch, the Chairman, and others joined in the discussion.

Mr. Gould drew attention to the newspaper reports of Mr. Edward Wooler's discovery of an early camp or defensive enclosure in the county of Durham; and said that he was especially glad to do so, as the discovery was the result of a suggestion he had made to Mr. Wooler that a work would be found on the spot. Mr. Gould had noticed an embankment shown on Maclauchlan's Survey of the Watling Street, published in the middle of the last century, and judged that it probably extended across a promontory otherwise naturally defended by streams. This surmise was found to be correct, and there is little doubt that an early fortress, or stronghold of the promontory type, existed. Mr. Wooler's investigations show that, probably at some late period, the southern portion of the great area was further defended by banks, thus forming a complete enclosure. The site is at the extreme west of the parish of Brancepeth.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THE "ANGEL STONE" IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, HON. LL.D.

The "Angel Stone" in Manchester Cathedral has given rise to much speculation as to its precise meaning. The engraving, which is reproduced by the kind permission of the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian*, gives an accurate idea of its appearance. The drawing was made by Mr. F. W. Goolden from a large and careful photograph taken by Mr. William Ellis, of Longsight.

The stone is $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., and represents an angel standing with extended wings, holding a scroll on which is an incised inscription. The scroll being too small for the words, the lettering is continued in two lines cut into the plain surface. It was in 1871, when the south porch of the Cathedral was taken down, that this curious slab was discovered. The entry about Manchester in the *Domesday Book* states that the Church of St. Mary and the Church of St. Michael held in "Mamcestre one carucate of land free from all customs but the gelt." Whether this meant two churches in the town or in the larger area of the barony of Manchester, is a matter on which opinions have varied. Some think that St. Michael refers to Ashton-under-Lyne, others that there was a Church of St. Michael near the Church of St. Mary, and perhaps even in the same churchyard. The ancient sculptured stone, it was thought, would probably have some reference either to the Virgin or to the Archangel. Whilst the description remained undeciphered, it seemed not unlikely that the subject was the Annunciation. The inscription gave rise to some wild conjectures. Oghams and runes were suggested. The Rev. Isaac Taylor held that the figure represented St. Michael, and that the letters were either Anglo-Saxon or Irish uncials of the ninth or tenth century. Mr. Robert Langton made a careful drawing of the stone, which appeared in *Local Gleanings* for January, 1880. Mr. James Croston made another drawing of it, which is engraved in the last edition of Baines's *History of Lancashire*. An enlarged view of the inscription was also given, and printed upside down! After an unsuccessful attempt by

Professor Sayce, the inscription was read by Canon E. L. Hicks, whose skill in the cognate field of Greek epigraphy is well known. The words are :—

IN MANVS T
VAS DME CO
MMEDO SP.
X.

"In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum" (meum). This reading was communicated to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, in 1896, by the Rev. H. A. Hudson, who suggested that the sculpture might have been used as a sepulchral or memorial stone, inserted probably into an inside wall over a grave or an altar or altar-tomb. The stone is apparently from the local Collyhurst quarry. Recently, Mr. J. J. Phelps has subjected the stone to a patient and prolonged examination; and in a paper read before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in January, 1905, has shown that the letters are of a form that can hardly be later than the ninth century. The curious M, which occurs twice, is composed, it will be observed, of three perpendicular strokes united by a diagonal bar. This is a characteristic form that ceases with the ninth century. It occurs with slight variations on various incribed stones in Wales, and in the "Lindisfarne Gospels" and other MSS. Mr. Phelps is strongly of opinion that the figure is intended for St. Michael, and that the part of the stone broken off at the lower edge contained a representation of the dragon. In proof, he points to a kind of triangular flat knob near the lower edge of the stone to the right, and claims that this is the end of the dragon's tail. The arrangement of the inscription also, as he points out, shows that on the stone there must originally have been something represented under the feet of the angel, otherwise the word *tuas* would not have needed to be divided as it is.

Dr. Walter de Gray Birch, to whom a photograph and a squeeze of the stone have been submitted, says that the stone is eighth- or ninth-century work, and part of a representation of the Crucifixion. His wide experience and high reputation give great weight to this theory. The inscription, whilst it suggests the words both of David and of Christ, does not literally correspond with either, or with Stephen's dying invocation as given in the Vulgate. This can be best shown by a comparison of the three forms :—

Angel Stone.—In manus Tuas Domine commendo spiritum (meum).

Psalm xxxi, 5.—In manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis.

Luke xxiii, 46.—Pater, in manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum.
Acts vii, 59.—Domine Jesu, suscipe spiritum meum.

The phrase, as it appears on the stone, is part of the Roman liturgy, and forms part of the service of compline. The following is the passage :—

"THE LITTLE CHAPTER (Jer. xiv).

"Tu autem in nobis est, Domine, et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos : ne derelinquas nos, Domine Deus noster.

"*R.* Deo gratias.
"*V.* In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum.
"*R.* In manus, etc.
"*V.* Redemisti nos, Domine Deus veritatis.
"*R.* Commendo spiritum meum.
"*V.* Gloria patri, etc.
"*R.* In manus, etc.
"*V.* Custodi nos, Domine ut pupillam oculi.
"*R.* Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege nos.
"*Ant.* Salva nos."

In the unique copy of Caxton's *Ars Moriendi*, in the Bodleian Library, the prayer "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" is the last of those commended to the use of the sick, but it is not mentioned in his *Art and Craft to Know Well to Die.* It occurs repeatedly in the "Lives of the Saints."

Whatever be the final decision of the archæologists, as to whether this fragment of sculpture is a sepuchral monument, or a dedication stone to St. Michael, or a memorial of some unknown saint or martyr, or a fragment of a representation of the Annunciation or of the Crucifixion, it may be regarded as proved that it is an example of the Saxon art of more than a thousand years ago. The Chapter of Manchester Cathedral have decided that it shall be protected by glass, and placed in some position in the Cathedral where it can be seen, and at the same time be safeguarded from any future danger of accidental damage. Whatever may have been the indifference in such matters of former generations, there is a desire now to treasure the relics of the past. The "Angel Stone" will be preserved with the care due to it as the earliest memorial of Christianity in Manchester.

Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days. By EMILY M. PRITCHARD ("Olwen Powys"). (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1904.)—There are many little-known monastic institutions, such as Cardigan Priory, awaiting

the touch of hand of the *vates sacer* to bring back to the antiquary some echo of their life-history. The authoress here has chosen a Priory of which there are but scant materials for history, but by dint of study and research she has succeeded in gathering up the principal features of its existence. These, so far as records and ruins testify, have been carefully put together, and as a result we have a little book which, for conciseness and avoidance of unnecessary prolixity, compares favourably with larger tomes. The origin of the Priory, like that of many other monasteries, is veiled in some amount of doubt. St. Mathaiarn, a holy man of Irish pedigree, is credited with the foundation, at a period when Christianity cannot well be said to have been firmly established in the land. The institution passed under the government of the opulent Abbey of Chertsey in the twelfth century, and the charters and documents dealing with the matter are described in detail. It was believed that eventually it formed part of the property assigned in dower to Queen Katharine of Aragon, but the authoress calls this "a foolish tale." In 1537 Cardigan Priory was granted to the monastery of Bustlesham, or Bisham, on the banks of the River Thames, an institution then newly reorganised or refounded under the auspices of the King himself. At the surrender of this abbey, Cardigan Priory followed the fate of its superior. Here was a miraculous taper, held by a figure of the Virgin Mary, which was believed to have burned incessantly for nine years; until, on the occasion of a false oath being taken upon it, it ceased of its own accord to burn any longer. William Cavendish obtained a grant of the site at the Dissolution. Many original texts, and translations of the same, are contained in the book by way of proofs and evidences of the facts related therein; and so the work may stand as a text-book for the student, as well as a readable history for the less studious into whose hands it may chance to fall. We hope the authoress will not fail to take up the history of some other Welsh monastic foundations, of which there are several still awaiting the historian and chroniclers. By perusal of such books as these, a good insight may be gained into the state of religion in Wales in the Middle Ages.

A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels, with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture in the Churches of Great Britain. By CHARLES E. KEYSER, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Stock).—The author of this work, who proposes to describe the symbolism of the representations on tympana, has wisely chosen to illustrate his work so elaborately that very much of the difficulty of properly understanding church sculpture disappears at his touch. We are not told what the tympanum is, or whether it is a

detail of paramount necessity or mere ornamental finish. Many churches are provided with them, a far larger number have none; hence it may be assumed that they were left to the fancy of the builders, who, indeed, prompted by the desire of putting before the eye of the untutored worshipper something which might appeal directly to an intelligence not always capable of grasping the dogmatic utterances of the priesthood, took care to inculcate by these means some important and cardinal feature of religion. The age of these representations is difficult to ascertain, nor can we gather from the work whether they are contemporary with, or subsequent to, the building of the fabrics which they adorn. Conventionalism is frequent, and with some of the symbols, such as the Agnus Dei, for example, a considerable preference is manifested. Angels and other celestial beings, animals both wild, domesticated, and imaginary, the Life of Our Lord, trees and flowers in abundance, and many other allegories, are depicted by the sculptor: who seems to have been well provided with the means of maintaining appropriate forms and figures for the subjects he desired to represent. The details of ecclesiastical sculpture have attracted in recent years far more attention than formerly, and to this it is that we owe special monographs on fonts, carved bench-ends, bells, ground-plans, and many other subsidiary parts of the church. Mr. Keyser is evidently at home with his subject. His remarks are always pleasing and acceptable, his knowledge of cognate specimens, both in Britain and on the Continent, wide and accurate, and his descriptions and deductions carry conviction to the mind. It is not asserted that this book by any means exhausts the British series of carved tympana, but we have here at least the flower of them all; and such fine examples as those of Lullington, Peakirk, Castor, Wold Newton, Beckford, Egleton, Siston, Kilpeck, Lathbury, Dinton, Ridlington, Pedmore, and Fownhope (not to mention many others of equal interest), would be hard to match. It is with works such as this—which should be in every archæologist's hand—that our true appreciation of the art-gifts of our ancestors may be advanced. It is by means of contrasting examples—which this work enables us to do very thoroughly—that we obtain a more accurate idea of the great potentiality of the sculptor of the Middle Ages, exponent of an art which has now disappeared and can never be revived. If Mr. Keyser's book leads to the preservation of these invaluable relics, and renders them more precious in the eyes of their custodians, and if it pleads with antiquaries to study them more critically, it will not have been written in vain.

Obituary.

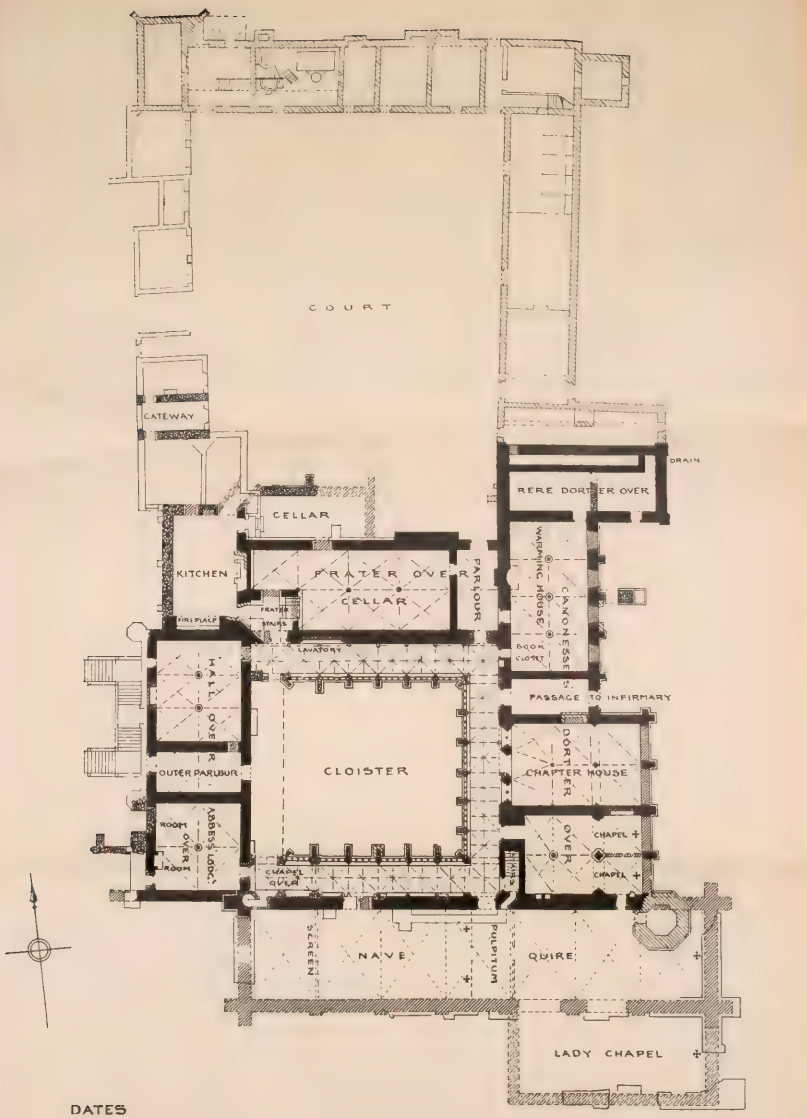
THOMAS BLASHILL.

THE Association has sustained a sudden and sad loss by the death of our friend Thomas Blashill, at his residence, 29, Tavistock Square, on January 20th, 1905. Born in 1830, he was son of Henry Blashill, Sutton-on-Hull, Yorkshire. He was at school at Hull and Scarborough, and received his professional education at University College and in a London architect's offices. Subsequently he practised for himself, and became a surveyor of one of the London districts, and ultimately architect to the Metropolitan Board of Works and the London County Council. He was elected A.R.I.B.A. in 1866, and F.R.I.B.A. in 1877. He was also a Fellow of the Surveyors' Institution and of the Zoological Society, and President of the London Architectural Association in 1862. He was an enthusiastic Volunteer, and held a commission in the Honourable Artillery Company.

He was elected a member of our Association on November 27th, 1861, having previously (on June 12th) made the first of his long series of exhibits, *i.e.*, an example of Roman tesselated pavement and the upper part of an amphion, discovered in excavating the new Sewer's Offices at the back of the Guildhall. He was chosen a member of the Council on May 13th, 1863, and a Vice-President on December 7th, 1892, in succession to the late Mr. J. W. Grover, and on December 4th, 1895, succeeded Mr. Loftus Brock as Hon. Treasurer: an office he held until 1898. He contributed a large number of important Papers to our *Journal.*

His last Paper on "The Frame Knitters' Company" has been promised, but not yet printed: it certainly should be. He published in 1896 his book on *Sutton-in-Holderness: the Manor, the Berewic, and the Village Community*, which was reviewed in our *Journal*, vol. ii (N.S.), p. 228-9. He read a Paper to the East Riding Antiquaries on "Hull and Dripple in the Thirteenth Century." He was a regular attendant at our Congresses, and will be missed both there and at the meetings of the Association. He was interred in Highgate Cemetery.

T. CANN HUGHES.



DATES

- Original work 1232 et seq.
- do destroyed.
- Later monastic work.
- do destroyed.
- Post-suppression 1540-53.
- Later and modern.

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·LACOCK·ABBEY·WILTS·

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR F.S.A., MENS ET DELT.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1905.

LACOCK ABBEY:

NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE BUILDING.

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.

THE members of the British Archæological Association visited Lacock in August, 1880, of which visit there is a pretty full account in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvii, p. 174). Since that time, however, a good deal has been done in the way of restoration and fresh discoveries; so that on revisiting the place in 1904, those who had seen it on the previous occasion would find much that would be new to them. Having been, to a great extent, responsible for the former account, I have rather aimed now at supplementing it with additional matter.

The Abbey was founded, in 1232, for Augustinian Canonesses, by Ela, Countess of Salisbury, in her widowhood. She was Countess in her own right, and had been married to William Longespee, natural son of King Henry II, who, in right of his wife, was Earl of Salisbury, and whose fine monument remains in Salisbury Cathedral. The Countess entered the community and became the first abbess, up to which time the house was governed by

a prioress. She resigned her office before her death, and, when that event occurred, she was buried in the choir of the Abbey church.

Rather less than three years before the Dissolution, the Abbey, which appears to have been perfectly well conducted,[1] was described by the commissioners, appointed 1st July, 28 Henry VIII (1536) as "A hedde house of nunnes of S. Augusteynes rule, of great and large buyldings, set in a towne. To the same and all other adjoynynge by common reaporte a great releef . . . "Church, mansion, and all oder houses in very good astate. The lead and bells there estemed to be sold to £100 10*s.*"[2] There must, I think, have been fine and considerable buildings, of which no trace remains.

With regard to the subsequent architectural history of the building, I shall have occasion to mention continually two persons who effected great alterations, viz., Sir William Sharington and John Ivory Talbot. William Sharington was a gentleman of Norfolk, where his family were landowners, who purchased the Abbey from Henry VIII, at the Dissolution.[3] He was a merchant, and in Henry VIII's time a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and Vice-treasurer of the Mint at Bristol. He was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI (1547),[4]

[1] "Soo it is that we founde no notable compertes at Laycok; the house is very clene well repared and well ordered. And one thing I observed worthy thadvertisement here. The Ladies have their rule, thinstitutes of their religion and ceremonies of the same writen in the frenche tonge which they understand well and are very perfitt in the same, albeit that it varieth from the vulgare frenche that is nowe used, and is moche like the frenche that the common Lawe is writen in." (Extract from a letter of John ap Rice to Cromwell, August 23rd or 24th, 1535. See Paper on "The Fall of the Wiltshire Monasteries," by the Rev. W. G. Clark-Maxwell, *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 296.)

[2] *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 310.

[3] Possession was given him at once by the commissioners who received the surrender. (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxxiii, p. 376.)

[4] This appears from a publication by John Anstis (Garter), 1725: "Observations introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath" (p. 59): "Sometime before his" (Henry VIII's) "Demise, he designed to create his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, and

but very soon got into trouble in connection with the intrigues of Lord Seymour of Sudeley. He seems to have acted—at least occasionally—as steward for Seymour; and, under his influence and to furnish him with money for his political purposes, he was guilty of fraud in connection with his office in the Mint at Bristol. On the fall and execution of Seymour, Sharington was attainted, and sentenced to be hung. His estates were forfeited, but he was afterwards pardoned and allowed to repurchase his principal estates.[1] He prospered again, under the patronage of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and died in 1553 somewhat suddenly, whilst in office as

proper Dispositions were made for that End; and, previously, he intended to confer the Knighthood of the *Bath* upon him; for which, suitable Apparel was provided; but his Death prevented the Execution of that Design.

"Several Persons of the first Quality were nominated, in order to their being regularly promoted to this Honour, at the Coronation of *Edward* VI; but by reason of some Accident, *because the Time* (as it is expressed) *was so short*, the usual Ceremonies were, by Dispensation, omitted; and to supply that Omission, the King having the Crown on his Head, with *greate Royaltie* knighted them, having himself first received Knighthood from his Uncle the Protector, who was authorised by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal, to confer it."

And (Appendix to the same, p. 50): "Knights nomynate of the *Bathe* the daye of the Kings Majesties Coronation, the xx daye of *February*, Anno 1546." The list, headed by "The Duke of Suffolke," includes "Sir *William Sherington*."

(Page 51) "*Ceremonial of the Coronation of* Ed. VI.—It was ordained, that a certain number of Knights should be made instead of the *Bath*, because the time was soe short, that they could not bee made of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremonyes thereunto appertayneing.

"Then it was at the same time ordered by the Kings Royal Majesty, with the advice of his most noble Councel, that they should be made by his Highnesse, being crowned, instead of the *Bath*, as aforesaid, and soe Sir *William Paget* Secretary did read their names, and they were called by *Guarter* Principal King at Arms, to receive, as after followeth, etc.

"Then because they were nominate of the *Bath*, and made with soe greate Royaltie, they were commanded to pay the Dewtyes of money, every of them after theire Degrees, and Estates, dowble the sume of other Knights."

[1] In the deed of restitution of his property, in my possession, the office of Vice-treasurer of the Mint at Bristol is expressly excepted.

Sheriff of Wilts,[1] at nearly the same time as the King, Edward VI. He appears to have been engaged in building operations up to the time of his death.

John Ivory Talbot was the eldest son of Sir John Ivory, of New Ross, in the county of Wexford, by his wife Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Talbot of Lacock. He succeeded his grandfather, and took the name of Talbot, when a young man, in 1714. He was evidently a man of natural good taste and ability. Unfortunately, he lived at a time of bad taste, and the consequence was that his alterations were such as one can only regret. He died in 1772, at the age of 85.

The architectural remains of the Abbey consist of the principal domestic buildings standing to the north of the church, and converted into a dwelling-house after the Dissolution.

The Abbey church—as was generally but by no means always the case—was pulled down at once, with the exception of its north wall, which was left to form the south wall of the dwelling-house, all but its easternmost bay, which projected beyond the adjacent buildings, and was therefore removed. The materials were used for building purposes. The foundations of the church, as far as they remain, have been recently excavated at the joint expense of the Society of Antiquaries and the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, and the plan has been published. Not a piece of worked stone remained *in situ* and everything had to be covered up again. The result was to confirm the previously-accepted opinion that it was a long aisle-less building without transepts; and further to show that it was seven bays in length, the easternmost wall being just beyond the present tower.

Foundations were also found, on the south side of the

[1] There is a most interesting record, exhibited in the Museum of the Record Office, viz., an order by "Jane the Queen," for the making of letters patent to constitute Edward Baynard, Esq., of Lackham (a manor in the parish of Lacock), Sheriff of Wilts, in the place of Sir William Sharington, late sheriff, deceased. The order is in her own handwriting, and the name is spelled incorrectly "Benard." To this was tacked an order, in identical terms, by Mary the Queen, ignoring the Lady Jane's order.

Lacock Abbey, South Front, Site of Church.

Lacock Abbey, North-East Angle of Cloister Court.

choir, of the Lady Chapel, which is known from documentary evidence to have been erected in 1315.

The west wall of the church returned at the south-west angle of the cloisters, and a small portion of it remains in the form of a buttress, facing south. The church would probably be among the first buildings erected after the foundation in 1232. The structural evidences have been much obliterated by alterations carried out in the first half of the last century; but, from what remains, from fragments found and from drawings, we know that it had a lofty stone vault, with moulded groin ribs, very similar to those in the Chapter-house, triple caps and shafts carried down to a stringcourse about the level of the heads of the doorways, and finished with corbels beneath the stringcourse.[1] The projecting features were chopped off and plastered over when the church was pulled down, but became visible on the peeling off of the plaster. Some architectural friends of mine questioned the possibility of the church vaulting having been completed in stone, on structural grounds; but the subsequent discovery, in the foundation of a garden wall, of a stone boss, which undoubtedly belonged to the church vaulting, has set that matter at rest, and shows that it was not only carried out in stone, but that it stood till the Dissolution.

In the four westernmost bays of the north wall were single lancet windows, lighting the church over the roof of the original cloister; but these appear to have been blocked later, owing to the existence of a building over the vaulting of the later cloister. In the fifth and sixth bays from the west there were no windows, as the dormitory abutted. In the second and fourth bays there were doorways, that in the fourth bay having been unblocked in 1894.[2] The other appears to have been exactly like it, but altered in some way, when the fifteenth-

[1] Very similar features are to be seen in the small portion that remains of the south wall of the church of Hinton Priory (Carthusian), in Somersetshire, which is of the same date, and was founded by the same foundress on the same day.

[2] See a Paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxix, p. 11).

century cloister was built, to preserve the entrance whilst providing a support for the cloister-vaulting. The doorway would be blocked at the Dissolution, and a modern vaulting shaft was probably inserted in the eighteenth century for the sake of uniformity. The successive alterations cannot be traced now, owing to an attempt evidently made to open the old doorway, about 1828, which attempt failing resulted in the making of a new vaulting-shaft and the present modern doorway.[1]

On the east side of the cloisters, proceeding northward from the church, are the sacristy, Chapter-house, slype,[2] and day-room. When previously seen by the Association, the three rooms were open to the terrace and closed on the cloister side. The east walls and windows had been removed in the eighteenth century. These windows were Renaissance work, with Italian consoles, differing very slightly from those which remain, and of which good examples[3] may be seen, on the north side of the cloister court, in the refectory wall.

About ten years ago, the east walls of sacristy and Chapter-house were replaced, and, there being no data for restoration, windows of Early English character were introduced, but larger than the original windows are likely to have been. The original doorway from the cloister to the sacristy was then reopened, a vaulting shaft introduced in the eighteenth century for the sake of uniformity was removed, and it became apparent that

[1] All but the inner arch, which has just been added.

[2] A passage in this position has been frequently termed "the slype," and I have used the word here simply for convenience to distinguish this particular passage.

[3] These windows are probably unique in England, though there is a certain analogy in somewhat earlier work at Layer Marney as regards the use of consoles under the heads. The origin of the flat face, with filleted edges, of some Elizabethan and later mullions is, I think, here seen, viz., that it was derived from the Italian pilaster. The circle, at the intersection of principal mullion and transom, and semicircle, at the head of mullion, are also derived from similar features on Italian pilasters. A semicircle, at the foot of mullion, does not occur in Sharington's work, but photographs show that, in the Renaissance work of the Chateau de Blois, it does occur in that position, so that the work there is nearer the prototype. Several critics have noted a French influence in the Lacock work.

the Perpendicular cloister-vaulting, where it comes down upon the arch of the Early English doorway, must have been finished with a pendant.

It is a controverted point whether the octagonal pillars, in the western part of the sacristy and Chapter-house, are of the original thirteenth-century work or of the fourteenth century. Very competent critics have pronounced them to be of the later date. One suggestion was that they might have replaced Purbeck marble pillars that had failed, but none of the other shafts are of Purbeck. Another suggestion was that the vaulting was originally completed in the eastern projecting parts of these buildings only, and that the dormitory had a temporary wooden floor, at first; but I cannot see any positive evidence of difference of date in the two portions of the vaulting. The mouldings of caps and bases of these two octagonal pillars differ but little from those of the clustered pillar, originally a respond,[1] in the sacristy. Very similar pillars are to be seen, in thirteenth-century work, in the crypt under the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, and I am inclined to think the apparently later features may be simply examples of changing style.

A small portion of the original thirteenth-century tile pavement was found, about 1879, but, as it could not be preserved *in situ*, it was taken up and placed in a frame.

It is now[2] apparent that the sacristy had originally no direct communication with the church. The trefoil-headed doorway, on the inside, appears to have been originally a seat. In the fifteenth century it was turned

[1] The eastern part of the sacristy, which is higher than the rest, formed originally two distinct chapels, with a wall of division between (perhaps with an opening in it, as in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral), which wall was removed in the fifteenth century, and, at apparently the same time, a double aumbry in the north wall was removed, an arched recess—probably for a monument—substituted, and that and the earlier work of the northernmost chapel, or bay, painted.

[2] By the removal of plaster, since the visit of the Association. The freestone, at the sides of the original recess, does not continue below the point where the seat must have been.

into a doorway, a Perpendicular doorway[1] was made, opening into the church, and the jamb-mouldings of the recess, or seat, were continued down to near the ground. The lower part of the jamb, on the east side, appears to be ancient, but not original, therefore, probably of the fifteenth century, and the lower stone, on the west side, appears to be an eighteenth-century restoration.

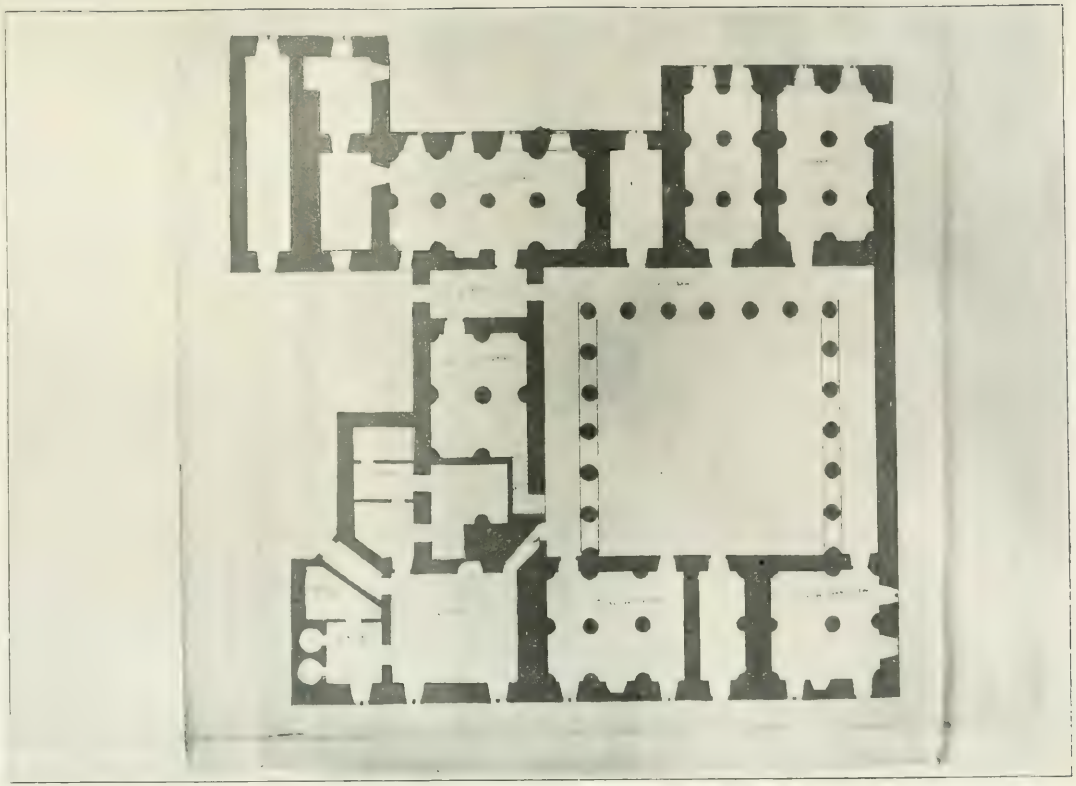
The Early English doorway from church to cloisters, and the doorway of dormitory staircase of the same date, were unblocked at the same time as the principal door of sacristy, in 1894. There is a small groined vestibule to the staircase, and some of the original steps remain. This staircase was lit originally—from the cloisters—by a two-light shafted window, too high for the later cloister, and therefore re-faced externally in the fifteenth century. The upper part of the staircase appears to have been lit by a thirteenth-century trefoil opening, now blocked, but visible in the wall above the leads of the present cloister. A passage was made from the vestibule at the foot of the dormitory staircase to the church—probably in the fifteenth century—to avoid passing through the cloister at night. This was perfectly plain, and has been walled up, for strength; but a trace of the doorway that led into it from the church can be seen externally.

The most striking change, since the previous visit of the Association, is the unblocking of the west front of the Chapter-house. This has revealed a fine central archway with unglazed side-windows (the usual arrangement), all of the original work.[2] It is evident that there were some alterations in this part, previous to the Dissolution. The bases of the window-shafts on the inside are cut, and pin-holes are visible in the shafts, which shows that boards were put up, to stop the draught, and very likely removed in the summer.[3] The Early English

[1] This fifteenth-century doorway has had the blocking set back since the visit of the Association.

[2] The way in which the work of the later cloister crosses the earlier work is curious, and particularly remarkable at the west front of the Chapter-house.

[3] I have been told that the same thing was done in the Chapter-house at Durham.



Lacock Abbey, Sixteenth-Century Plan.

jambs of the central arch have been cut in a similar manner, to a height of about 5 ft., 5 in., probably at the same date, for the erection of a wooden door, and there are cuts in the Early English caps, on the north side of the opening, and also in the Perpendicular work on the south side, which shows that a board was fixed across horizontally. This was done before the painting of the fifteenth century, as the painting stops at this board and does not continue below it. Perhaps the whole head of the arch may have been boarded up, leaving only the space between that and the door for ventilation, but the object of the board is not quite clear.

Sharington turned the Chapter-house into a dwelling-room, and walled up both the archway and the windows *flush* internally, which involved a good deal of mutilation, but, his wall being of less thickness than the thirteenth-century wall, a good deal of the mediæval work remained visible externally, till it was almost entirely concealed in the eighteenth century. Under the central arch, Sharington introduced a Renaissance doorway, which at some subsequent date had been cut wider, weakening the work and causing the head to crack. Ivory Talbot, in the eighteenth century, would appear to have at first retained this doorway, re-facing it in modern Gothic on the inside; but afterwards he threw the Chapter-house open to the terrace, and walled up the west side entirely, mutilating the Renaissance cornice of the doorway very badly, which up to that time had evidently been as fresh as if newly worked, and reducing that part of the cloister to a state of dull uniformity. Sharington's doorway being so mutilated, I took it out, but preserved the stones. Fortunately, I have almost identically similar doorways *in situ* in the courtyard. For the erection of this doorway, a detached shaft of the Early English work on the north side had been knocked out, but on the south side I found the Perpendicular work behind it well preserved.

In the central bay of the north wall of the Chapter-house there has been a Renaissance fireplace,[1] which must

[1] When the sixteenth-century plan of the house was made, this fireplace had not yet been inserted. This is perfectly clear, and is a most

certainly have been a very fine thing, but of which the barest indications only remain,[1] and it is evident that it was deliberately destroyed in the eighteenth century, *because*[2] it was not Gothic. It is of exactly the same width (6 ft.) as the fireplace, which remains perfect, in the Stone Gallery, and it had a projecting hood, which appears to have run up nearly to the vaulting, and was probably supported by male and female caryatid figures standing on pedestals, such as are seen supporting the table in the upper room of the tower. For the insertion of this fireplace, the stringcourse which extends between the corbels of the vaulting was cut away for one bay.

We found that the octagonal pillar in the Chapter-house had been underpinned, to counteract sinking, by the introduction of two large stones, which was probably done, without shoring-up, by inserting them one at a time, and in this process the base mouldings were destroyed. That this was done before the Dissolution is evident, as we found a stone coffin *in situ*, immediately to the east of the pillar, too high for the original floor level. The present floor level is, therefore, practically the fifteenth-century level, and it is evident that at that time the base of the clustered pillar was covered over and concealed. It is now exposed to view, but is mutilated and decayed. The small portion of original floor beneath it shows signs of settlement.

interesting point. The side windows in the west front of Chapter-house had apparently been walled up. The church had been pulled down, and its doorways walled up, except that leading to the sacristy or chapel. The dormitory staircase had been closed, the book-cupboard and adjacent doorway, and the lavatory, had been all blocked. The tower had not yet been built, but a garderobe passage, added by Sharington to the north of the nuns' garderobes had been either begun, or was at least intended. The gables above that passage must, however, be rather later, as one of the finials is a lion holding a shield, which bears the letters E. R. crowned, in compliment to Edward VI.

[1] No architectural fragments were found in the blocking, except a bit of sixteenth-century cornice.

[2] Ivory Talbot must have been a *purist* in architecture, and have shared Horace Walpole's opinion that the Early Renaissance in England was "that bastard style which intervened between Gothic and Grecian architecture." He therefore had no scruple in destroying work which we now recognise as exceptionally valuable.

There has been a stone seat round the Chapter-house originally. The indication of this is best seen at the south-west angle, where the outline of the original base may be seen, cut down to the size of the vaulting-shaft, in the eighteenth century, when a piece of shaft was added below, on which is worked a plinth, which was then carried all round the inside of the building as a finish. This shows that part of the stone seat remained to that date, but part must have been removed in the sixteenth century, when the two responds of the large arches, which originally came down to the seat, were continued to the ground. This explains why those responds have no bases.

The gravestone of Ilbert de Chaz, which was in the Chapter-house when the Association were here before, is now at Monkton Farleigh,[1] to which place it properly belongs.

Since the visit of the Association an eighteenth-century inner ring of stone, and door of the same date, have been removed from the western arch of the "slype," bringing it back to its original form. The shafts of the archway are probably an eighteenth-century restoration. They cannot be original, at least in their present state, as the neck-moulds of the caps are cut away and the shafts come too high. Besides which, they are pieced. At the east end of the "slype," the plinth of the original doorway was found, and the inner part of south jamb and part of the springer of inner arch remained. This gave the width and height of the doorway, which had been converted into a much higher arch in the eighteenth century. The outer face of the doorway has now been restored. The hole into which the wooden bar ran back has been found during the work, and left open to inspection.

In the cloister wall, to the north of west entrance to "slype," were originally two trefoil-headed cupboards, probably for books, of which the southernmost remains, and has been recently unblocked. There is a groove for

[1] See a paper, by the present writer, on the subject (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 146).

original shelf. A later shelf has been added above, in rather a rough manner. There is a rebate for the door-frame. The northernmost cupboard was altered into a doorway, probably in the fourteenth century; and it was suggested by Mr. H. Brakspear—to whom I am much indebted for professional and critical assistance in all this work, and also for kindly permitting the reproduction of his ground plan of the whole building—that more room was required for books, and that part of the day-room was parted off for that purpose. This is supported by the fact that we have since found mortices in the east and west walls of day-room, which seem to show that it was partitioned for some purpose.

In the north wall of the same bay of the cloister is the eastern half of a thirteenth-century archway, which formed the entrance to passage leading to the day-room. The western half was taken entirely out in the fifteenth century, apparently to make it easier to introduce a respond of the cloister-vaulting. At the same time, a fifteenth-century doorway was introduced within the limits of the older arch. This has been unblocked since the visit of the Association, and proves to be a foliated arch which had six cusps, all unfortunately knocked off, when it was walled up, in the eighteenth century; but the whole of one of the cusps and parts of two others have been found and refixed. This archway leads into a thirteenth-century vaulted passage, which had an arched doorway at its north end, so knocked about that we did not think it advisable to restore it, but have introduced a window there. On the west side is an original doorway, now walled up, which communicated with the principal substructure of the refectory; and on the east side is an original doorway which forms the entrance to the day-room.

In the day-room, called also the warming-house, or calefactory, the removal of the plaster from the walls revealed the fact that the inner face of the doorway, formed out of the north book-cupboard, has been entirely obliterated.[1] On the west side of the day-room, the

[1] This was done by Sharington, as his plan shows no doorway in this position.

Lacock Abbey, East Cloister, Looking North.

splays and inner arch of one of the original windows remain perfect, with a stone seat in the window. The external face of the window has been altered, probably in the early eighteenth century, when a projecting sill was inserted. The recess for the seat had been filled up in the sixteenth century, and, until I unblocked it, only the outline of the seat could be seen. On the east side of the room, the inner arches and mutilated splays of three original windows and the outer members of their external arches remain. These windows have also had seats at a lower level than in the west window.

The window in the second bay from the south was evidently closed by Sharington when he erected the chimney of the Stone Gallery. In place of the first and third windows, he introduced Renaissance windows. Ivory Talbot, in the eighteenth century, removed these, and, cutting away the stonework up to the original outer arches of the windows, made open arches. In the case of the third bay, he cut through the lower part of Sharington's chimney-breast and up to the original window arch, as before. We have now restored these windows since the visit of the Association, introducing two lancets in each, with a quatrefoil in the head, the guide for the restoration being a fragment which we found, and which the architect concluded had belonged to these windows, because it corresponded in size.

The fourth arch from the south was entirely introduced in the eighteenth century, for the sake of uniformity. Therefore, in that bay, the original arrangement had been different from the others, but there being no clue to it, we thought it best to treat that arch similarly to the rest.

There are the remains, in the west wall, of a large hooded fireplace, which has had a bracket on each side, of which that on the north side only remains, but the outline of the other may be traced.

In the south-west part of the day-room is a stone tank, cut out of a single stone, which has long been an object of interest. It was probably placed there soon after the Dissolution. Its use is not known, but I think it may

probably have been simply a cistern for storing the water supply for dipping purposes.

Since the visit of the Association, the "nuns' caldron" has been placed in the day-room. The members saw it in the position in which it was placed by Ivory Talbot in 1747. It narrowly escaped injury, if not destruction, by the fall of a large elm tree, in September, 1903, during a gale. The limbs of the tree came all round it, breaking some of the stonework of the pedestal on which it was set, and, if it had not been that—about 1876—I had had the pedestal built solid, previous to which it was hollow, like the old altar monuments that are common in our churchyards, I believe the whole thing must have come to the ground.

An attempt was once made, about a hundred years ago, to break it up and steal the metal. The marks of the sledge-hammer may be seen upon it. To deaden the sound, the would-be thief filled it with sand, which helped to frustrate his attempt, but the strength of the metal was its chief preservation, as it is evident that a blow on the exposed lip failed to break it.

The same pedestal has been re-used, all but the top stone.

The inscription, which records that it was made by Peter Wagheuens, of Malines, in 1500, has been published in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvii, p. 178). The material is bell-metal.

In the north wall of the day-room an original doorway has been reopened, leading into the reredorter sub-vault. This was originally one room, with a plain barrel vault, lit by two Early English loop windows, of which the one at the east end came down lower than the western one. At the east end of north wall there is a recess, which appears to have been a garderobe, as it is immediately over the main drain of the Abbey. The wall at the back of this recess had been cut through, to make a doorway, probably in the eighteenth century. It has now been replaced.

An external doorway in the south wall, now closed, may be of the fourteenth century, at which time the sub-vault was divided by a wall, which appears to be

connected with an extension of the dormitory, as it carries part of its outer wall. In this wall is an original doorway, which has been cut wider, probably in the eighteenth century.

The original window at the west end of the sub-vault has been reduced at the top by Sharington, who inserted a wood lintel, walled up the part above it, and in the lower part made a new window of an English type that he frequently used, but in this case combined with an Ionic pillar externally, the object of which will be noticed later.

An unsightly triangular pier in the western part of the sub-vault, probably put up in the eighteenth century, supports a chimney.

On the exterior of the day-room (east side) there is a very heavy flying buttress, erected in the fifteenth century, and reduced in projection and probably in height in the sixteenth century, after the Dissolution. This is just beyond the second window opening from the south. It was erected to resist a failure of the building, as was noticed by Mr. Christian on the occasion of the former visit of the Association. At this point, we found that the original wall is most out of the perpendicular, being two inches out at the head of the window-arch. That the buttress could be safely reduced in projection may be due to the fact that the chimney, erected by Sharington, acted as an additional abutment at that point. We found that this chimney-breast, which was cut through by Ivory Talbot in the eighteenth century, has not gone out of the perpendicular at all. If the buttress was reduced in height, the object might be to avoid darkening one of Sharington's four-light windows in the Stone Gallery.

On the north side of the cloisters, and to the west of the passage by which the day-room is approached, is a vaulted substructure to the refectory, of the thirteenth century. It is now divided into a coal-cellar and other offices, but was originally two bays in width and four in length on the north side, but only three bays in length on the south side, as the space at the south-west angle was occupied by the staircase to the refectory.

Over the buildings above mentioned—on the east side of the cloister court—was the dormitory. The original dormitory, of the thirteenth century, was evidently lower than the present height of the building. Its eaves line seems to be indicated by some stone tabling remaining for a certain distance at the south end of the west wall.[1] At that angle there also appear to be remains of the south jamb of one of the dormitory windows.

How far the original dormitory extended in a northward direction we can hardly tell, but the later dormitory extended over the rere dorter-sub-vault. The arch of its great north window remains, and the roof, which has foliated windbraces, and, whether classed as a Late Decorated or an Early Perpendicular roof, must have been erected in the fourteenth century.

On the north side of the cloister court, over the passage and substructure above mentioned, was the refectory. An inspection of its south wall shows that, as in the case of the dormitory, it has been raised, in this instance in the fifteenth century. There are considerable remains of a very fine Perpendicular roof of that date. In the south wall are slight remains of two circular windows, one of the earlier and one of the later date.

On the west side of the cloister court, at the south end, is a vaulted room of the thirteenth century, with later alterations. It may be seen, on the inside, that its south wall is later than the church—as might have been expected—the wall having been built against the work of the church, and a small portion of the latter having been cut away, to clear out the angle. It may also be seen that the north wall of the room is not bonded into the east wall. From these indications, it appears that there was, at first, only a wall on the west side of the cloisters, and that the buildings of the western range were erected later. The room has originally had two lancet windows in the south wall, one of which has been converted into a two-light mullioned window—probably in the fourteenth century—to obtain more light, as the

[1] There are some remains of similar tabling in the east wall of what was probably an extension of the dormitory, over the sacristy and Chapter-house.

other was walled up at an uncertain date ; but, as there is evidence externally, from the remains of a dripstone, inserted in the wall above, that a building was erected against it, ranging north and south, before the Dissolution, the westernmost lancet window may probably have been closed when that building was erected.

There are the remains of a large hooded fireplace of the original work in the west wall, a good deal mutilated —apparently about the year 1828—for the erection of a warming apparatus which did not succeed, and was shortly afterwards removed.

A little to the north of this, in the next bay, is what appears to be a small original doorway, rather high up in the wall. Its intention is not obvious, but it may have led by a staircase to the floor above, and, if so, must have had steps leading up to it. It was blocked in the fifteenth century, and the space utilised for the flue from a fireplace which was then inserted in the wall below it. This second fireplace, together with various mortices in the walls and over the cap of central pillar, make it probable that the room was then partitioned.

At the extreme north end of the west wall is the north jamb of an original doorway, being the only evidence of any original entrance at the ground level.

Between this and the later fireplace a two-light window has been inserted, in the fifteenth century. There is a doorway at the south end of the west wall, which is an insertion, apparently of the fourteenth century, and probably led into another building to the west.

There is no evidence[1] of any original communication with the cloister, as the present doorway appears to be of the fourteenth century, contemporaneous with that part of the later cloister.

The groining of this room was evidently not completed

[1] It does not, however, follow that there was not an original doorway in this position, as the Early English doorway above mentioned faced *towards* the room, the door opening *from* it, which is not the arrangement one would expect in the principal entrance. In the two adjacent bays of the vaulted cloister they seem to have *obliterated* the traces of the early work. In the still later part of the cloister they generally did not.

at first, nor with much care, as the groin ribs do not agree in section with the springers.

The use of this room is matter of conjecture. I am inclined to think it may have been part of the Abbess's lodging. The importance of the original fireplace appears to be an argument in favour of this view.

On the north wall are remains of mediæval painting—sketches—one of which, probably of the fourteenth century, represents St. Christopher carrying the infant Christ on his arm. A rougher sketch probably is the Crucifixion of St. Andrew.

To the north of this room is a groined thirteenth-century passage (now a dark cellar), which was the principal *entrance* to the cloister. This is shown by the face of its eastern doorway being towards the west.

To the north of this passage is another groined room of much the same date, three bays in length by two in breadth, the west side of which was parted off, to form a cellar, about 1828.

There was a doorway of some kind to this room from the north walk of cloister, at any rate as early as the sixteenth century. The present doorway is quite modern. In the west wall there is a thirteenth-century doorway walled up,[1] and indications of two windows walled up, one having been closed when a fireplace was inserted in the fifteenth century, in the spandrils of which are the initials of the Abbess Elena de Montefort.[2] I cannot determine the use of this room.

Over this room and the passage last mentioned was an ancient hall, which must have been mediæval with later alterations. It is shown in Dingley's view, 1684.[3] In it, no doubt, in glass,[4] in one of the windows, Aubrey, in

[1] This also was a doorway, leading *out* of the room. Therefore, there probably was a doorway from the cloister as well.

[2] See a paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine.*, vol. xxvi, p. 44).

[3] *History from Marble*, vol. ii, p. cccccciii (published in facsimile by the Camden Society).

[4] This is a conclusion arrived at from a personal examination of Aubrey's MS. Canon Jackson's transcript cannot be entirely relied on, being very inaccurate. See a Note by the present writer (*Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, vol. iii, p. 514). The letters were in colour.

the seventeenth century, saw the letters A . W., and queried whether those were the initials of the last Abbess. She was Johanna Temys; and Canon Jackson, who edited Aubrey's work, suggested that the letters were perhaps for Agnes de Wick, an Abbess who was elected in 1380. This is probable.

This ancient hall was replaced, in 1754, by the present hall, built under the direction of Mr. Sanderson Miller, of Radway, Warwickshire, an amateur architect of some repute, and a friend of Ivory Talbot. It is of interest as an example of early Gothic revival, in which it was considered desirable to make everything as symmetrical as in a Palladian room, but the destruction of ancient work for its erection is a matter of very great regret.

Over the southernmost room of the range is a Palladian[1] dining-room of much the same date. It is good of its kind, but again one regrets the disappearance of the earlier room, which is shown in Dingley's view, and which was, no doubt, the "great dining-room" mentioned by him. His view shows that it had a large mullioned window to the west, which looks mediæval, but one cannot certainly tell its character, on account of the small size of the view. There is some reason for thinking that the wall under it, which contains a most peculiar unsymmetrical four-centred arch, though at first sight mediæval, may be really Sharington's work after the Dissolution, as, in the sixteenth-century plan, which is generally reliable, it is not shown. If so, the window could not be earlier.

Externally, however, a considerable part of the east wall of the dining-room is seen to be mediæval. There is a square-headed window of late thirteenth-century work, which I partially unblocked some time ago, and, immediately over it, a set-off in the wall marks, I believe, the limit of height of the mediæval building. It agrees with the original height of the adjacent building over the south cloister. The site of the dining-room, presumably, may have been part of the Abbess's lodging.

[1] I use the word "Palladian" as a convenient term for that type of Italian design, though Palladio was, of course, of much earlier date

There were buildings over, shown in Dingley's and Buck's (1732) view, which may probably have been of the sixteenth century.

To the north-west of the cloister court, in the angle between the north and west ranges, is the kitchen, of which the east and south walls are those of the original Abbey kitchen. In the south wall is the four-centred arch of a fifteenth-century fireplace, which has been long disused. Some part of the tabling of the chimney over is of the same date. Near the north end of the east wall are remains of a doorway of the thirteenth century.

The west wall of the kitchen has been set back, a few feet, either by Sir William Sharington or soon after his time. The roof, therefore, is also of this later date, but the kitchen reaches to the roof, as must have been also the case with the earlier kitchen.

When the buildings came into Sharington's possession, the west wall was in line with the rest of the buildings of the west range. This is shown on the sixteenth-century plan, and that the plan is correct we have proved by finding the foundations of the southern end of the original west wall. This was left, in order to form the back wall of an added building, shown in Dingley's view, some of the foundations of which we also found, in which was the principal entrance to the house, and, no doubt, a staircase leading up to the hall. The whole of this was removed in the eighteenth century. At that time, also, the later west wall of the kitchen was completely altered. The windows and buttresses, shown in Dingley's view, were replaced by pointed windows and buttresses, in wrong positions, put up for appearance, and not for use. A battlement was also added. The wall was covered with roughcast, which we have removed, in order that no doubt as to the construction of the wall may arise in the future, although the wall is a rough one, and was not intended to be exposed.

The original cloister of the thirteenth century appears to have had an arcade of twin shafts of Purbeck marble, and probably trefoiled arches of freestone, the evidence of this consisting of fragments found in the foundation of a later cloister, probably of the fourteenth century, at

the north-west angle of the garth. Of this fourteenth-century cloister, which appears to have been a wooden-roofed one of good character, part of the corner pier and two corbels remain beneath the vaulting of its fifteenth-century successor. By what appear to be the remains of corbel stones, on the west side of the court, it seems to have extended along that west side.

If it was ever intended to continue it along the south side, the intention was abandoned, and two bays of a vaulted cloister of rather later character were erected, at the end of the fourteenth century. This has a good window, transitional from Decorated to Perpendicular, and over it was a room of the same date, probably a private chapel of the Abbess, approached by a staircase from the cloister, which staircase also had a doorway to the church.

The chapel was lit by two two-light windows, with traceried heads, under square lintels, of the same date as the work below. In these windows were figures of St. Augustine, etc., in glass, still remaining in 1684. One of these windows has been partially unblocked, and the design of the tracery recovered.[1]

The rest of the south walk of the cloister is fully-developed Perpendicular. Over this part there was a low building, perhaps a passage, which had two-light Perpendicular windows, having the peculiarity of both a glass-line and a rebate for a shutter. The indications of several of these windows, which were walled up by Sharington, may be traced, and the head of one of them, which was taken out after the Dissolution, was found in the blocking of the church doorway. Sharington raised this passage to the height of the Abbess's chapel, as may be seen by the cutting through of a stringcourse which belonged to the fifteenth-century parapet, and introduced three two-light transomed windows, with very wide lights, which were essentially Tudor,[2] without any Italian

[1] See a Paper, "Lacock Abbey," by Harold Brakspear, F.S.A. (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxxi, p. 238), for a restored drawing of this window.

[2] The mouldings are of two orders—the outer one a hollow and the

element, therefore probably part of his first work on his obtaining possession of the Abbey. These windows have *also* the peculiarity of a rebate for a shutter, as well as a glass-line, probably adopted from the fifteenth-century windows just mentioned. One of these windows remains, walled up. The other two were, unfortunately, altered, on the recommendation of the Clerk of the Works, about 1828, the transoms being removed, the windows altered to three-lights, with pointed heads, and the inner roll-moulding of jambs removed.

Until the eighteenth century, when they were thrown into one, this gallery, raised by Sharington, and the former Abbess's chapel, were distinct though communicating passages.

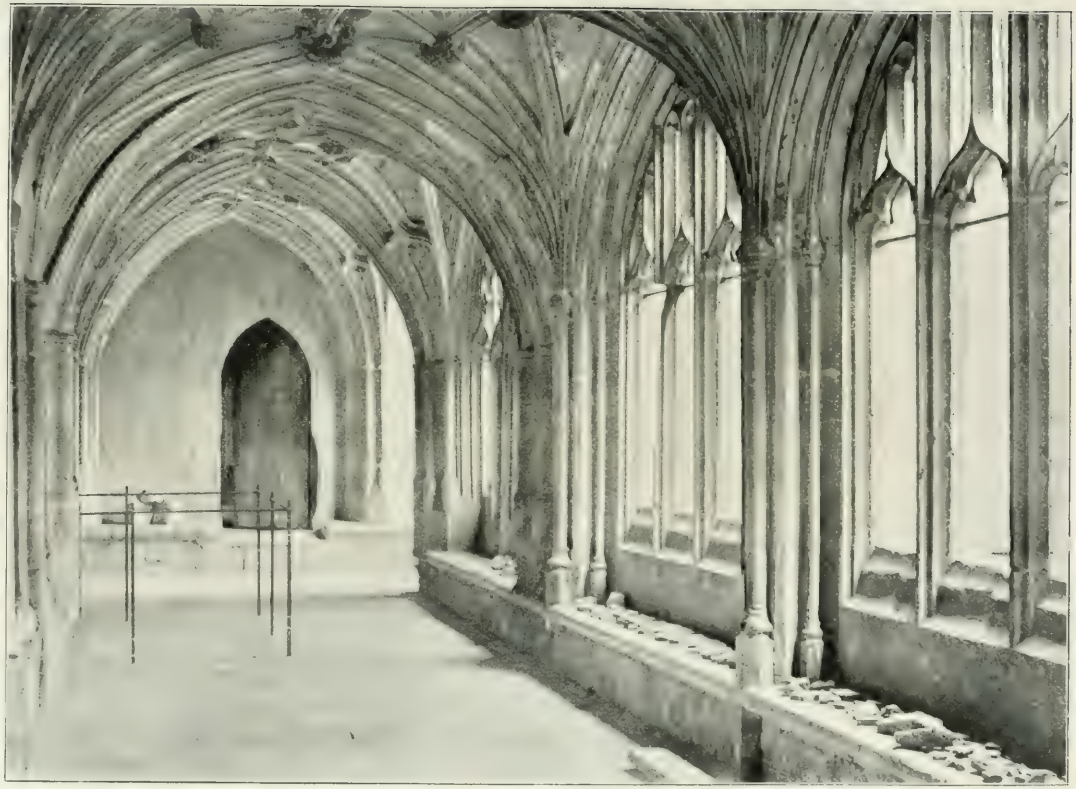
In the earlier and later part of the south walk of the cloisters are found the same set of mason's marks—very striking ones. In the rest of the cloisters there are no masons' marks.[1]

In the vaulting of the earlier part occur the arms of Baynard of Lackham. In the later part, but with the tinctures falsified by repainting, are the arms of Roche of Bromham, also Beauchamp of Bromham, the Heytesbury shield of Hungerford, flanked by sickles, and the letter E on a shield, which has been generally assumed to refer to the foundress and first Abbess, Ela, but which probably refers to Elena de Montefort, an Abbess of the fifteenth century.

The gravestone of the foundress, as being in this part of the cloister, may now be noticed. Some years ago, I shifted the stone, from its position in the centre of the cloister-alley, where it was subject to much wear, to the side, and put an iron rail to protect it. I then ascertained that there was no interment beneath it. The inscription has not hitherto been published correctly. It is as follows, but parts of it are quite obliterated :—

inner one a roll. If there had been another order, with pointed heads to the lights, within the roll, it would have completed a familiar type of Tudor window, but that feature is absent.

[1] With the exception of a sixteenth-century mark, on a mullion which must have been restored at that date. Having to repair the mullion, I retained the portion which bears this mark.



Lacock Abbey, South Cloister, Looking West.

INFRA SVNT INFOSSA ELÆ VENERABILIS OSSA
QVÆ DEDIT HAS SEDES SACRAS MONIALIBVS ÆDES
ABBATISSA QVIDEM QVÆ SANCTE VIXIT IBIDEM
ET COMITISSA SARVM VIRTVTVM PLENA BONARVM

INFOSSA, which, in this case, is a single word, signifying *buried*, has hitherto been read DEFOSSA, which has the same meaning. This was evidently a correction of DEPOSITA (the reading given by the Rev. G. Witham, in his "History of Lacock Abbey," printed by himself, in 1806), which was obviously incorrect, made by some person who was not familiar with the Venerable Bede's epitaph, or the true reading would not have been missed.

The Æ diphthong, used in this inscription, is an evidence of late date, and there are other peculiarities about the stone which have led some persons to think that the whole inscription is not really ancient, but the difficulties in the way of supposing it to be fabricated appear to be greater than any difficulties in the way of its authenticity.

I believe it to have been found in its original position on the site of the choir of the Abbey Church, about 1740.

Some of the carved keystones of the vaulting of the east cloister have been altered by filling in the original sinkage with cement, and working in it coats-of-arms that have no historical connection with the Abbey. This was done in the early eighteenth century, and is a curious instance of the revival of a Gothic taste, when the whole thing was rather a matter of fancy than of serious study. The whole of the present painting on the vaulting is of that date, except in a few places that were, at that time, covered up. Two original coats-of-arms appear to have had their tinctures *intentionally* altered.

The tracery of the cloister window, opposite the west entrance of the "slype," is not original but an eighteenth-century copy—so fair a copy that it generally escapes notice, but examination will show that the whole of the filling of the window-arch was taken out, probably to enable stone to be brought in, that way, when the hall was rebuilt. The original moulded plinth was afterwards

replaced, and the tracery, which had probably been broken up, was copied.

In the north walk of the cloister, near its west end, are the remains of the lavatory, consisting of the great arch of the original lavatory of the thirteenth century, too high for the later vaulted cloister, which, therefore, conceals the top of it. The cloister vaulting is, at that point, carried on a corbel, to avoid obstruction, and, in connection with the building of the vaulted cloister, the lavatory itself has been remodelled, apparently as a benefaction by one of the Hungerford family, as the arms and sickle badge of Hungerford occur on the work. The spaces between this ornamental stonework and the arches above are filled with fresco painting, representing, in the larger space an abbess kneeling to a saint (no doubt, St. Augustine), who is a bishop, and is giving her his benediction, and in the smaller space perhaps a female saint, less well preserved.

The front of the stonework, below the basin, was ornamented with narrow panels with cusped heads, of which fragments were found in the blocking, as the lavatory was blocked and the projecting part removed by Sharington.

In 1684 there were remains of painting round the walls of the cloister, but all traces have been destroyed in later replastering.

Immediately to the west of the lavatory, behind a fifteenth-century vaulting shaft, is one of the thirteenth-century shafts of the original doorway to the refectory staircase.

Over the east doorway of the "slype," externally, there are some remains of an inserted dripstone, showing that it led by means of a passage or cloister[1] of some kind, with a lean-to roof, to some building beyond, no doubt the infirmary. This is evidently the reason why the east door of the "slype" is a low one, and the fact that the dripstone was an insertion shows that the passage to the east was not an original work. There are also some

[1] Stones, that may well have belonged to the windows of an early fourteenth-century cloister, have been found, but there is no proof as to where they came from.

Lacock Abbey, from the North-East.

indications of a dripstone over the same roof, in the north wall of the Chapter-house.

In making a drain, a portion of the foundation of a wall of the infirmary was found, in the field, near the present terrace wall, to the east of the day-room. The infirmary appears to have run north and south, as at Burnham, Bucks. (a house of the same Order). There has been no opportunity yet of excavating this foundation. The only piece of worked stone, found there, was a fourteenth-century corbel, but it was not *in situ.*

To return to the building over the south walk of the cloister. I have said above that Sharington raised the whole eastern part to the same height as the western part or chapel, forming a gallery which was lit by six two-light transomed windows of a very peculiar Tudor type, which I think was probably the first work put up by him when he began to convert the Abbey into a dwelling-house. These windows were not opposite each other, but alternating, three on each side. In this gallery was a tile pavement, no doubt that of which many tiles are in my possession, and which has been figured in Mr. Gotch's book.[1] Dingley speaks of it as "a gallery paved with painted Flanders tile with coats of arms," and having "in the windows painted the rebus or device above" (the badge of Queen Jane Seymour) "and other arms" (not specified).

The tiles are not really *painted*, but made in the usual way.

Distinct from, but communicating with, this gallery was the western part, which had been a chapel. Dingley speaks of it as "the passage leading out of the great dining room, towards the matted and stone galleries."[2] In its north wall were two two-light traceried windows, of the same date as the late fourteenth-century cloister below, retaining mediæval glass, which he describes, one of the figures being St. Augustine, of which he gives a sketch.

[1] *Early Renaissance Architecture in England*, by J. Alfred Gotch, F.S.A., Plate ix, p. 38.

[2] The "matted gallery" appears to be the one just mentioned, and the "stone gallery" still retains that name.

In the south wall was a two-light window of Sharington's Tudor type, in which, in glass, was the coat of Sharington impaling Farington (the third marriage of Sir William Sharington).[1]

In the eighteenth century the passage and gallery were thrown into one, all the windows on the north side were walled up, and all the windows on the south side, four in number,[2] had their mullions and transoms removed, and the stonework which was left reduced, by working mouldings of the Queen Anne type. This was probably done in the time of George I, and, at any rate, before 1732.[3] The manner in which this conversion was effected may be seen, by the example of the south window of the present library. That window was originally a three-light window, of Sharington's Tudor type. It was converted into a sash window by walling up one third of it *flush*, and removing the mullion and transom, altering the mouldings, and cutting down the sill of the remaining part. I unblocked the walled-up portion and set back the blocking, so that the whole transformation can be seen. The original three-light window must have looked well, and was central to the gable which forms the south end of the dormitory.

I have reasons for thinking that the west window of the present library was originally another three-light window, of the same work. Such a window could not readily—as in the case of a four-light—be turned into a double sash window, by removal of stonework, and one sash would not have given light enough. That is why the present window has a wooden central mullion and lintel. The jambs are built up of moulded stones of the

[1] The same coat occurs on the tiles. I have, at present, in glass, in the hall, a fine coat of Sharington impaling Walsingham (the second marriage of Sir W. Sharington).

[2] The spaces occupied by the four lancet windows of the church were apparently utilised in the original making of these windows.

[3] The whole gallery was, I believe, then panelled with deal panelling, as in the case of the library, and a fireplace was then first introduced, in the centre of the north side, which has since been removed.

original window. This is as far as I can trace this very peculiar Tudor work.[1]

It must be admitted that the south front of the house, as it was left by Ivory Talbot and as it remained till 1828, must have been bare and unattractive. In that year, the late Mr. Fox Talbot, during whose minority and for some time longer the house had been let, came to reside, and at once began to make considerable alterations.

He took the precaution of having plans and drawings made, in 1827, as a record of the unaltered buildings. These are very useful, but, in some points, are so inaccurate as to make it probable that proper measurements were not always taken.

The plan of the new works was changed, as they were in progress. The gallery was, at first, not widened, but a drawing-room, on open supports, was added, to the south. Its appearance, however, was so unsatisfactory that, before its completion, it was pulled down again, and, about 1832, the eastern part of the gallery was widened by removing the church wall, above the cloister level, and throwing out a projection and large oriel window.

The result of these changes was to make the south front of the house much more generally attractive, and to produce a good room internally. Archæologically, of course, there is a good deal lost, and the proportions of the north wall, externally, are much marred by the raising of the coping, by the insertion of three additional courses of ashlar above the stringcourse, so that the parapet has lost its character.

The dormitory space was divided by Sharington, containing, at its south end, the room above noticed, now the library. Next to this is a passage, running east and

[1] A very strong reason for thinking that these windows were some of the first work put in by Sharington is the fact that all the principal windows, to the north of this point, have the marked Italian element, and there seems to be no reason why this window should have differed from its neighbours, unless there had been a difference in date. It may also be noted that *beyond this point* the dormitory wall seems to have been more rebuilt, as there are no traces of the Early English eaves tabling. Sharington's attainder *must* have caused a temporary suspension of his building operations.

west, with a recessed window at its west end, which has been of three lights, turned into a sash-window in the eighteenth century, and falsely restored, in 1850, as a two-light window.

Beyond this passage, to the north, nearly the whole of the length is occupied by a gallery (known as the Stone Gallery) which has four recessed windows, unfortunately spoiled by being Gothicised in the eighteenth century and having the transoms cut out.[1] This is supposed to have been done under the influence of Mr. Sanderson Miller. This gallery retains a very fine fireplace of the Renaissance. with a pattern incised in the hearthstone and filled with lead.[2]

On the west side of the gallery, and looking into the cloister court, there has been a very fine room (now divided), which had two four-light windows, of which one has been altered to a double sash window, in the eighteenth century. Half of the other window has been walled up, at the same date, and the other half has since been falsely restored.

Externally, the lower part of the chimney of this room, up to a table supported by consoles, is of the original Renaissance work. On this stood a fine columnar chimney,[3] with a pedestal having a space surrounded with strap-work, apparently intended for an inscription which was never cut. This columnar chimney is shown in Buck's view (1732) *in situ*, over the roof of the house. It was taken down by Ivory Talbot, about 1740, and set up in the grounds, in the position which it now occupies. A stone sphinx[4] was then placed on the top. It stands

[1] At the same time, externally, battlements were substituted for the overhanging eaves and Italian cornice. A small fragment of the latter remains, at the south end.

[2] Figured in Mr. Gotch's work on the *Early Renaissance in England*, Plate LVII.

[3] Figured in Mr. Gotch's work, Plate XXXVI, but there is an accidental omission of the ornament, on the sides of the consoles supporting the shelf. They are shown plain. It is also omitted to be stated that this is a restoration of the chimney, *as it was*, and that the adjoining window is also shown *restored*. The roof also is not indicated.

[4] This was the work of Benjamin Carter, who was probably the father or some near relation of John Carter, the architect and anti-

close to the present approach to the house, but its proper face is turned away towards the north, as it formed an object, at the end of the vistas of a pleasure-ground in the Dutch taste, on that side, which was made by Ivory Talbot and has since disappeared.

He set up, in its place, an original chimney of the sixteenth century—a very good one—from some demolished part of the house, on a plain pedestal.

Little by little, we made all this out. The chimney being unsafe, I had to rebuild it and accommodate it to a position that it had not originally been intended to occupy. We did not think it wise to attempt to reinstate the columnar chimney. The base-moulding only of its pedestal was reproduced, and, curiously enough, whilst we were considering the matter, two stones were found, supporting the posts of a cowshed, which proved to be the missing link between this moulding and a drip-

quary. John Britton wrote a Memoir of John Carter, which was read to the Royal Institute of British Architects, in 1837, but was not printed (*Autobiography of John Britton*, Part II, p. 101). If it had been published, we should probably have known exactly who Benjamin Carter was; but this is what John Carter says, in a most amusing article, entitled "The Pursuit of Architectural Innovation, No. LI," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1802 (vol. lxxii, Part II, p. 727). He is very angry with a "reverend gentleman"—a previous writer, whose communication I have not had the opportunity of seeing—"He" (the cleric) "sports off the most illiberal Philippics on part of a religious arrangement, and raises, by a kind of profane adulation, an alien artist into fame because he was a Frenchman. What Englishman at this day should laud a Frenchman? Why, the reverend scribe has done it. His own countrymen deserve but lukewarm praise, or else he might also have expressed a wish to know who was the sculptor that executed the sphinx, called by him a piece of *masonry*, as well as that of the Frenchman. His name was Benjamin Carter, of Piccadilly. I remember, when I was a boy, to have seen much of the work moulded into shape. I revere the memory of him who gave the form it now bears."

Carter is very severe on the hall, as well he might be, but he is wrong in ascribing it to Batty Langley.

The article is simply signed "An Architect," but, even if Britton had not described him as "the redoubted knight-errant of 'architectural innovation'," it would be clear, from internal evidence, that John Carter was the writer, as certain archæological points, in which he is wrong, are the same as those which appear in his notes, from another source, printed by Bowles and Nichols (*Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, p. 347).

stone over the roof below. One of these was in good enough condition to be replaced in its original position, which was accordingly done. The other was copied.

Another room, on the west side of the Stone Gallery (known as the Tapestry Room, being the only one in which tapestry remains—good work of about the time of Charles II, the subjects being mythological) is noticeable, from the fact that its window (a four-light, of the Renaissance) was very ornate and remarkable. Unfortunately, it was falsely restored in 1853, and a correct restoration is now rendered much more difficult, but careful restored drawings have been made of it. It was one of those which had been turned into a double sash window and it was intended to remodel it, according to a prepared drawing. Unfortunately, the precaution of taking down the existing internal wood-casing first and seeing what was behind it was not taken. The work was left to be carried out in the absence of the family. The carpenter, in accordance with a common practice, prepared his new woodwork without making any examination. When he came to put it up, it was found that the original face of the central stone mullion remained and projected too far for the new work to be fixed. Moreover, it was found to be elaborately carved. To write for instructions did not occur to him. The carved face of the mullion, etc., was sawn off carefully, and preserved as a curiosity. The face of the mullion was ornamented with the double *guilloche*, in the sunk part, and in the circle, at the intersection of mullion and transom, was the scorpion badge, delicately carved. Along the head was a single *guilloche*, in the left-hand quarter-circle the letter W, in the right-hand quarter-circle the letter S accidently reversed, and in the central semicircle the letters W & G (William and Grace).

Some very beautiful consoles have been found, five of which, no doubt, belonged to the head of this window, having been found, together with a small portion of the transom, ornamented with the double *guilloche*, in unblocking an adjacent doorway, to be noticed presently. A sixth may perhaps have belonged to another similar

window, as it was not found with the others, but in cutting a drain in the garden.

In the roof-space of the dormitory, Sharington made a long gallery, lit originally by seven dormer windows, of which only two remain, on the west side, one of which is blocked. Those on the east side were removed in the eighteenth century.

There is a good panelled door, with its original ironwork, remaining at the south end of this gallery, at the foot of a staircase leading to the balustraded walk, on the south wall of the house and, from thence, to the upper room of the tower.

The gallery has a coved plaster cornice, with good moulded woodwork. There is evidence, in two places, of there having been a similar cornice on the floor below, but in general it has been replaced by later work. Ornamental plaster ceilings were probably intended, but no trace of them remains. It is suggested that the walls of this gallery were intended to be hung with tapestry, which is very probable.

From the courtyard may be seen the doorway, above mentioned, in which the ornately-carved consoles were found. It is immediately over the sixteenth-century window, inserted at the west end of the reredorter subvault, and is of the same date. Part of the work of the window is an Ionic three-quarter pillar, which has apparently supported a timber-built passage, removed in the eighteenth century, which crossed from this door to a building, pulled down about 1828, which stood against the north wall of the refectory, except at its east end.

The lower part of this building seems to have been monastic. The upper part was of the sixteenth century, and, partly at least, of timber work. Three of Sharington's spiral chimneys were, I regret to say, involved in its demolition.

All that part of the refectory wall against which this building abutted was, on its removal, cased over with a thin facing of stone, and the rest was modernised, but the projection which contained the reader's pulpit still remains, partly utilised for a fireplace in the sixteenth

century and with some indications of the older work internally.

The rest of the buildings, round the courtyard, were built by Sharington *de novo.* They comprised a long stable on the east side, brewhouse, bakehouse, and other offices on the north side, all of excellent and well-finished work. In this part of the building the roofs are *trussed,* so as to avoid all outward thrust, being the earliest instance of this construction, in an English building, known to me.

In rebuilding the upper part of some octagonal chimneys, on the north side of the north building, we found that the stones were keyed together by lead, which had been run in.

At the north-west corner of the court is a building known as the clock-tower, which has undergone a change of plan in its erection. It projects a little to the north of the adjacent building, on the north side of the court, and an examination of its north end shows that it was originally intended to be narrower. There are indications of a north-east buttress, to the west of and earlier than the present one, and of a north window, on the ground floor, central for a buttress in that position. This gave an east wall ranging with the west wall of the adjacent building. Further, there is evidence that this first building was intended to be continued, some way, along the west side of the court, and the first-floor room has some heavy timber-work, which seems to indicate a former lead roof,[1] with a door from the adjacent building leading on to it. This was all altered, either before its completion or shortly afterwards. The width of the north end was increased eastwards. To this increased width the present north window on the first floor is central, therefore it is of the later work. The southward extension of the building was removed,[2] and an upper story was constructed, supported on the cambered beams

[1] The erection of, or intention of erecting, a lead roof is disputed, but there are certainly features not easy to explain otherwise.

[2] The indication of a south-west diagonal buttress on the plan is a mistake. There was no such buttress.

which, I think, belonged to a former lead roof. This upper story is of timber, but its north end was probably a stone wall, on the removal of which the coping of the gable below was continued to the centre, at which point a chimney was built, which has lately been removed.

To form the south end, a stone wall was built up, as high as the eaves of the first floor, and, above that point, it was continued in timber,[1] having a doorway for hoisting, in the south end of the upper room. I uncovered the frame of this sixteenth-century doorway, which was concealed by plaster, and introduced a window in the upper part.

After this conversion of the clock-tower, the west side of the court was simply a wall extending southward, as far as a gatehouse of which the arch still remains. This gatehouse is shown in Dingley's view, and had a roof with west and east gables, and a two-light pointed window over the arch.

It is a disputed point whether the date of the gatehouse was just before or just after the Dissolution. The arch is three-centred, or elliptical. Its moulding may be of either date, and, on removing the earth, we found no stops remaining, which might have settled the question.[2] The hood-moulding, carried over it, is not original and does not come down to the springing of the arch, but is simply the continuation of a stringcourse of about the time of Queen Anne, the gatehouse having been incorporated with the adjoining building to the south, at that time, and the whole faced with roughcast, but it is noticeable that, after this was done, the arch remained in use, for a while, for though it was ultimately closed and a window similar to the rest was inserted beneath it, the wall under the arch has never been rough-casted.

The closing of the arch may be set down to Ivory Talbot, who then made a fresh entrance to the courtyard,

[1] Masonry has been substituted, at some time, for the lower portion of this timber-work.

[2] There is no difficulty, as regards the ground level, in the way of the gatehouse being a sixteenth-century work. Also, it seems to be set out in the same line with the ground-floor room of the clock tower. It is not shown on the sixteenth-century plan, which, though not conclusive, is a presumption in favour of its not having existed when that plan was made.

of the type shown in the book of Inigo Jones's designs, viz., great gates with two flanking doorways, one of which—to the north—is now walled up.

I have left my notice of the tower till the last. It was built by Sir William Sharington, and is one of the most conspicuous and beautiful features of the house. It contains three octagonal rooms, of which the lowest has six recesses in the walls, as if for lockers. This room is entered by an external doorway, which is in close proximity to the south door of the sacristy, which was a chapel and is so described on the sixteenth-century plan. *Possibly*, it may have been intended originally to have been used, for some purpose, in connection with such chapel. The room has stone vaulting, with ribs of a plain circular section, springing from the angles without corbels.

The room on the first floor was intended as a strong-room. It is approached, from the adjacent room on the same floor, by a short passage, corbelled out from the walls. The outer door of the passage is of oak, with the original lock and concealed keyhole. Beyond this is the door of the strong-room, plated with iron. There are four windows to this room, still retaining their original bars, on the north-east, east, south and west faces of the octagon, the doorway being in the north face. The north-east window is bricked up internally, which blocking, as it does not affect the external appearance, I have not yet removed. In the south-east, south-west, and north-west faces of the octagon are cupboard recesses, with rebates for doors, which have never been fixed. Over these are stone shelves supported by ornamental consoles, each set being of a different design. In the windows the only Italian features are the consoles, under the heads. In the centre of the room is a very fine stone table (figured in Mr. Gotch's book), on which are the cyphers of Sir William Sharington and his wife Grace and the scorpion badge of Sharington. The stone vaulting is most interesting, being a Renaissance version of fan vaulting, intended to depend for its effect on colour, but left unfinished and never painted at all. In the carving of the vaulting the scorpion badge of Sharington occurs several times, and

Lacock Abbey, Sixteenth-Century Pillar of Sundial.

the unicorn badge of Farington (the wife's family) once. Unfortunately, the vault is constructed with iron, which has fractured the stone, and caused the fall of one of the pendants.

The upper room of the tower is approached, by an external doorway, from the walk on the top of what was the north wall of the church. This room has very thin walls, and, consequently, is much larger internally than the strong-room. It has also a great deal of window space. Here is another fine Renaissance table (figured in Mr. Gotch's book), but much mutilated.

From this room, a turret staircase leads to the lead roof, round which there is a balustrade with remains of carved stone animals, on pedestals, at the angles. These, owing to their exposed situation, are much decayed, as is also the cornice of the parapet.

In the design of the tower, the Gothic element decreases and the Italian element increases as the work rises : a treatment which I have also noticed in the porches of two Wiltshire manor-houses, Stockton and Boyton.

Since the visit of the Association, the sixteenth-century pillar of a sundial (probably the one shown in Dingley's view), which is very well proportioned, has been placed in a better position. The dial, which was formerly on it, cannot, I think, be older than the seventeenth century.

I propose to place upon it a fine dial of the time of George II, which appears to have been made for it, but has never yet been used.

There are many pictures of interest in the house, but only two of them can be noticed here.

A portrait of Henry VIII—always reputed to be by Holbein—was, no doubt, in the possession of Sir William Sharington. Ivory Talbot placed it in a fixed stucco frame, in the dining-room, from which I removed it. The picture, when taken down, appeared to be in a very bad state. It was on the original panel, but Messrs. Dyer and Sons transferred it to canvas, considering that operation to be absolutely necessary. A great deal of detail came out, and there is no reason to doubt that it is Holbein's work, as the picture is a very fine one.

There is also a very fine picture of Sir Gilbert Talbot,

by J. Hales, painted in 1679, the last year of the painter's life. Sir Gilbert Talbot was a cavalier, who had fought for Charles I. In the time of Charles II he was Master of the King's Jewel House, and, in that capacity, brought down the mace which the King gave to the Royal Society, of which he was a Member of the First Council. He was also a contributor towards the cost of rebuilding the Heralds' College, after its destruction by fire, and, as such, had his pedigree recorded in the *Benefactors' Book,* which was produced in evidence in the Shrewsbury Peerage case.

Sir Gilbert died in 1695. In his will, he describes himself as of Lacock. He was not the actual owner of the estate, which belonged to his nephew, Sir John Talbot.

The picture was *named,* about 1800, and wrongly attributed to a much earlier member of the family: a mistake which I had no difficulty in correcting.

Saxon Church, Bradford-on-Avon, from the South-East.

Saxon Church, from the South-West.

THE SAXON CHURCH AT BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

By Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., Litt. D., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.
(*Contributed to the Bath Congress*, 1904.)

THE town of Bradford-on-Avon is one of those of which numerous examples are to be found in our country, which, flourishing in the past, only retains to-day the shadow of its former importance. In the Middle Ages it was the centre of a great sheep-farming district, and, in consequence of the abundance of water (which was then a chief source of power, as it is likely again to become through the modern developments of electricity), and of the special suitability of that water for dyeing purposes, it was, like its neighbour Trowbridge, the seat of the woollen manufactory, and from its looms came those "broadcloths" which made England famous throughout the world. Unlike "Worstead," now a decayed town in Norfolk, and Llanelly, in Wales, from whence our word "flannel" is derived, it did not give its name to any special branch of the industry; but with the introduction of steam power its glories passed away, and its name lives on in that of its great namesake and rival, Bradford, in Yorkshire, which, by a curious coincidence, is now the seat and centre of the woollen industry in England.

For us, however, it has other interests that take us back to the days of the old West Saxon Kingdom, and the first establishment of Christianity in the realm of Cerdic. This arises from the discovery, some fifty years ago, of the almost perfect remains of the Saxon Church

within whose walls we are now standing. The story reads almost like a romance, and was well told by Prebendary Jones, when the Association last visited Bradford, on the occasion of the Bristol Congress in 1874.[1] At its first discovery, the church was taken to be the very *ecclesiola* which William of Malmesbury tells us was founded by Aldhelm, who was Bishop of Sherborne from 705 to 709, and to be one of the earliest remains of Saxon architecture in England. We know, however, that Bradford was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century; and recent investigation proves, as we shall see, that the present building dates rather from the Restoration under Edgar or Ethelred, in the later years of the tenth century. This does not, however, destroy but rather enhances its interest; for although we may not behold the actual fabric which Aldhelm raised, yet it cannot but maintain its imperishable connection with his name, and the building as it stands still remains a precious example of what our Saxon forefathers could accomplish in the best period of their art, before Norman influences had invaded native inspiration derived from other sources.

Camden visited Bradford in the course of his journeys through England, but his original account of the place is very meagre, consisting only of the following notice: "The Avon waters Bradford—in old time *Bradanford*—(so called from the *Broadford*), which stands on the side of a hill, and is built all of stone, where a bloody battle was fought in the Civil Wars between Kenilwachan, King of the West Saxons, and Cuthred, his kinsman. Here the Avon leaves Wiltshire and enters into Somersetshire, running towards Bath." It will be observed that he makes no mention of its woollen industry, although of its neighbour, Trowbridge, he says: "Now, it is very noted for the clothing trade," so that apparently it must have been declining even in his time. To this meagre notice Bishop Gibson has added: "It was likewise famous in the Saxon times for the monastery built here

[1] *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxxi pp. 143-152, and p. 326, where the visit on that occasion is described.

by Aldhelm, and destroyed in the Danish wars; and also on the account of a Synod probably held here in 964, in which St. Dunstan was elected Bishop of Worcester."[1]

Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* tells us that "during the Heptarchy, a battle took place here between Cenwalt, King of the West Saxons, and a formidable party of his own subjects, who had rebelled against him under the command of his kinsman Cuthred, when the latter were defeated with great slaughter. In 706, Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, founded an abbey at this place, which he dedicated to St. Lawrence, and which, after its destruction by the Danes ,was rebuilt and converted into a nunnery by Ethelred, who annexed it to a larger establishment of the same kind at Shaftesbury in 1001." It will be seen in the sequel that this is more agreeable to the story which this building, correctly read, tells of itself, than with the theory of "those who, like Professor Freeman, hold that it is the very building erected by Aldhelm."

Before passing on, we may note that Lewis also tells us that "the principal branch of manufacture is that of woollen cloth, which is said by Leland to have flourished in the reign of Henry VIII, particularly that composed of the finer kind of Spanish and Saxony wool, for the dyeing of which the water is particularly favourable. In the 23rd of Edward I Bradford sent members to Parliament, but since that time it has made no return. A small oratory on the south-western side of the bridge, formerly belonging to the monastery of St. Lawrence, has been converted into a place of confinement for offenders."

In any consideration of the date and place in the scheme of Saxon architecture which are to be ascribed to this church, the name and fame of Aldhelm hold a foremost position. We will, therefore, here take some further note of what history has to tell us of this celebrated West-Saxon saint, the contemporary of Bede in the Northumbrian kingdom. Aldhelm, says the Life of him

[1] This may possibly fix the date of the restoration, and if so, makes it all the more interesting by bringing this work into connection with the renowned St. Dunstan himself.

in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "was born about the middle of the seventh century, said to have been son of Kenred, brother to Ina, King of the West Saxons, but William of Malmesbury says his father was only a distant relative. Having received the first part of his education in the school of Meildulf, a learned Irish monk, he travelled in France and Italy. The fame of his learning soon spread not only in England, but in foreign countries . . . He was the first Englishman who wrote in Latin, both in prose and verse . . . King Alfred declared that Aldhelm was the best of all the Saxon poets. He was a musician as well . . . After having governed the monastery of Malmesbury, of which he was the founder, for about thirty years, he was made Bishop of Sherborne, where he died in 709."

This is a very incomplete account, and contains some inaccuracies.

Bede, under the year 705, says; "Upon his (Hedda's, Bishop of the West Saxons) death, the bishopric of that province was divided into two provinces. One of them was given to Daniel (Winchester), and the other to Aldhelm (Sherborne), wherein he most worthily presided four years. Both of them were well instructed, both in ecclesiastical affairs and in the Scriptures. Aldhelm, when he was only a priest and Abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, wrote a notable book against the error of the Britons in not celebrating Easter at the proper time . . . and persuaded many of them, who were subject to the West Saxons, to adopt the Catholic celebration of our Lord's resurrection. He likewise wrote a notable book 'On Virginity' . . . and some other books, being a man of universal erudition, having an elegant style, and being wonderfully well acquainted with books, both on philosophical and religious subjects."[1]

The Saxon Chronicle only mentions Aldhelm under 709, the year of his death, as Bishop on the west of Selwood.

Florence of Worcester, under 675, describes the foundation of Barking monastery by Erconwald, King of the East Saxons, for Ethelburga, his sister, who was the first

[1] Bede, *Book V, cap.* 18.

Abbess, and proceeds : " Hildelith succeeded Ethelburga, and it was to her that Aldhelm addressed his book 'On Virginity'." Under 705, he notes that after the death of Hedda, Bishop of the West Saxons, the bishopric was divided, one diocese being given to Daniel, " the other to Aldhelm, Abbot of the monastery of Maildulf (*vide* sup.), *i.e.*, Malmesbury ;" and under 709 he notes that " St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Wessex, a man of most extensive learning, departed to the Lord."

Benedict Biscop, founder of the monasteries and builder of the churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Bede, were both contemporaries of St. Aldhelm.

It is William of Malmesbury who, in his "Life of St. Aldhelm," connects him with Bradford, for he tells us that the West Saxon Bishop was "generally supposed to have built a monastery at Bradford ; and adds, " To this day (1125) at that place there exists a little church,[1] which he is said to have built in honour of the blessed St. Lawrence."[2]

Is this the church within whose walls we are now standing, or is it indeed a later restoration ?

The whole subject of Anglo-Saxon architecture is involved in the answer to this question ; and although I shall not pretend to do more than make use of the researches of another, it will not be without all due gratitude and acknowledgment ; and the further remark that, so far as my own personal observation goes—and it has not been slight—it entirely bears out the conclusions arrived at, as the result of the researches to which I refer. Nothing is more astonishing than the contented ignorance which our fathers displayed on this subject. It was taken for granted that our Saxon ancestors were rude and barbarous, and that in consequence their architecture, of which few, if any, examples were supposed to remain, must have partaken of the same characteristics.

[1] *Ecclesiola.*

[2] Dr. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, in his *Life of St. Aldhelm*, published by the Christian Knowledge Society, after quoting William of Malmesbury, as above, merely adds in a note :—"This *ecclesiola* is almost certainly still standing at Bradford-on-Avon."

Everyone must have heard of Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, though not many, I imagine, have read it. The author was a learned antiquary—a member of the Society of Antiquaries—and his two 4to. volumes give evidence of painstaking research, as it was understood in his day. His style is full and flowing, modelled on Johnson and Gibbon, and abounding in moral reflections; and he quotes, one might say, almost every author who has ever written on the Saxons up to his time. With this he is content: research at first hand, or a visit to existing monuments, was quite beneath the dignity of a learned *savant* of his day.

This, therefore, is all he has to say about Anglo-Saxon architecture:—"The chief peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon architecture, of which several specimens—though in fragments—exist, are declared to be a want of uniformity of parts: massive columns, semicircular arches, and diagonal mouldings. Of these, the two first are common to all the barbarous architecture of Europe. But the semicircular arches and diagonal mouldings seem to have been more peculiar additions to the Saxon building.

"That the round arches were borrowed from Roman buildings is the prevailing sentiment . . . The universal diagonal ornament, or zigzag moulding, which is a very distinguishing trait of the Saxon architecture, is found disposed in two ways: one with its point projecting outwards, and the other with its point laying so as to follow the lines which circumscribe it."

The erudite author, who has, in the passage preceding the one quoted, stated that "the love of sublimity is more congenial to the rude heroism of infant civilisation, and therefore our architecture often reached to the sublime; but while we admire its vastness, its solidity, and its magnificence, we smile at its irregularities, its discordances, and its caprice," then goes on to connect the diagonal moulding with "fretwork," and suggests that "the teeth which the Saxon diagonals represent are marine teeth. If so, perhaps they arose from the stringing of teeth of the large sea animals."

He next quotes from Bede and William of Malmesbury the description given by them of the church of Paulinus

at York, of the churches built by Benedict Biscop, Cuthbert, and Wilfrid, and of the church at Croyland, without one line to show that he had ever seen one of them for himself, and concludes: "It is supposed that many specimens of ancient Saxon architecture yet remain: a part of St. Peter's at Oxford, part of St. Albans Abbey Church, Tickencote Church, Lincs., the porch on the south side of Shireburn Minster, Barfreston[1] Church, in Kent; Iffley Church, and some others;" and as a matter of fact, not one of these out of the large number of specimens that are now known to remain, except Sherborne and St. Albans, are Saxon at all! (Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii, p. 418).

This was the state of knowledge (or ignorance) in 1805, when his second edition was published; and it was in accordance with these principles that Sir Walter Scott, about the same time, could speak of "Lindisfarne" as Saxon, in the lines quoted in my Paper on the subject.[2]

It will also be noticed that the whole of "Saxon architecture" is massed together under one view, as though it continued practically the same from the beginning to the end of its five centuries of existence!

Rickman by 1835 had advanced a step further, and in his account of Saxon architecture enumerates twenty examples, all of which are correctly assigned; but he bases his determination of origin almost entirely on the characteristic Saxon arch, although he also mentions the western tower, and the so-called "long and short" work.

It was in 1858 that our Bradford-on-Avon church was discovered, and in the course of the following years it was gradually rescued from the mass of surrounding buildings, the chancel being recognised in what had long been a two-storied cottage. In 1874, Professor Freeman read a Paper before the Somerset Archæological Society, in which he described the building as undoubtedly Aldhelm's, and thus spoke of it: "Our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of Aldhelm, during the reign of King

[1] Barfreston is a very perfect little Norman church.

[2] *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. lviii, p. 181.

Ina, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the North—at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth."

With this description and ascription, Prebendary Jones signified his agreement in the Paper read before this Association in that same year.

Although the knowledge of Saxon remains has vastly increased during the last thirty years, the general public has had little opportunity as yet of realising what has been accomplished, almost entirely by one zealous and indefatigable observer, in the way of discriminating between the periods within the style, and the possibility arising therefrom of assigning any particular building to its approximately correct date.

In discussing the remains of Lindisfarne Priory, it was my fortune to differ from Mr. Hodges, and to maintain that I cannot see in them any vestiges of Saxon work at all; and in this history bears me out.[1]

In the article on Bradford-on-Avon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxvi, p. 334 (1902), the public is again informed that "there is still standing a small church, built about 705, and described by Freeman as 'the only perfect surviving church of its kind in England, if not in Europe'"; and in the same year the Rev. A. Galton writes, in Barnard's *Companion to English History (Mediæval)*, of Saxon Architecture, as though it were all of one piece, and could be described under one fixed set of definitions.

It is true that Mr. Reginald Hughes, in *Social England*, Illustrated Edition, vol. i, p. 286, writes of this church: "The church at Bradford may be, perhaps, a later restoration," though he assigns no reason for his hypothetical "perhaps."

It was reserved for Professor Baldwin Brown, to whom those who are versed in antiquarian matters will recognise that I have alluded above, to throw a flood of light on the whole subject of Saxon architecture; and to him

[1] Professor Baldwin Brown is inclined to agree with Mr. Hodges that in the apsidal-ended chancel at Lindisfarne, whose foundations were recently discovered, we have the evidence of the Saxon building, on the analogy of Rochester; but he does not hold that the work in any of the existing walls is Saxon, and thus supports me by implication.—*Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, p. 118.

I would here acknowledge the deep debt of gratitude which all students owe for his lucid and admirable exposition. In his book, *The Arts in Early England*, two vols. (Murray, 1903), he has, in my opinion, carried out an investigation and reached conclusions from which no serious student will hereafter be able to differ.

In his first volume he surveys the whole field of the life and manners, the arts and architecture, of our Saxon forefathers, and proves to demonstration that they were neither so rude nor so barbarous as they have been hitherto supposed. He discusses the introduction and the spread of Christianity throughout the country, and shows the place which the *ecclesia*, the *ecclesiola*, and the *capella* held in the life and estimation of the people.

The whole volume is a most admirable example of the value of first-hand research in historical subjects.

In the second volume the author proceeds to discuss the existing remains of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Anglo-Saxon period in England, and of these he enumerates no less than 350 ![1] One hundred and eighty-three of these are shown on the map which accompanies this volume; and it is noticeable that while the majority are to be found within the confines of Northumbria and Mercia, they are fairly evenly distributed over East Anglia and Wessex, and in other parts of the country numerous examples are in existence.[2]

A close study of these 183 ecclesiastical edifices, each containing more or less of Saxon work, has led him to certain *criteria* by means of which he is enabled to discriminate between three main periods within the style,

[1] Signs of Saxon work are to be found in no less than 350 examples. On the map and in the list given, 183 are marked.—*Op. cit.*, p. 74, etc.

[2] Saxon architecture proper is confined to England, and is more especially represented in the Eastern and Midland Counties. Examples, if they exist at all, are very infrequent on the Western side of the Pennine chain from Cumberland to the Mersey (Strathclyde), in Stafford and Cheshire, and in Monmouth, Somerset, Dorset and Devon. This may, of course, be explained in great part by the late and gradual Teutonising of the western part of the country; but it is not a little remarkable to find in Shropshire a kind of wedge of Saxon architecture, driven, so to say, into the midst of the "district in whose early ecclesiology Celtic traditions were predominant."—*Op. cit.*, p. 80.

which may be roughly described as being before, during, and after the Danish incursions. These periods he distinguishes by the letters A, B, and C: A extending from 600 to 800; B from 800 to 950; C from 950 to 1066.

Of these three, the last is again subdivided into C 1, C 2, C 3.

"Of the three building epochs just indicated," says our author, "there is no doubt that the two really prolific ones were the first and the last; for the central or Danish period, though not a wholly barren epoch, certainly cannot have been one of great productiveness."

Accordingly, after the detailed survey of the existing monuments, which takes up the greater part of the book, we find that of the 183 examples enumerated, 14 are assigned to A, 6 to B, 25 to B or C, and the rest to C, in one or other of its subdivisions. Class A includes Jarrow, Wearmouth, Escombe in Durham, as well as the Saxon Cathedral at Medehamsted (Burgh or Peterborough), the foundations of which were discovered and explored not many years ago, by our late lamented member, Mr. Irvine, who was also one the first to exhibit drawings of this church before the Association. But it does not include Bradford-on-Avon, which is placed by our author under class C 1, *i.e.*, between 950 and 1000, which would about bring it to the period when Ethelred, or rather Dunstan, is said to have restored Aldhelm's abbey, both of which we must therefore conclude to have been destroyed by the Danes.

But it is no mere dependance on documents, or the vague statements of chroniclers on which the Professor relies to justify his conclusions; it is the study of the buildings themselves which has enabled him to assign them to their approximate place in the scheme of Saxon architecture, with as sure a hand as that with which Dr. Petrie or Dr. Evans assign the monuments of Egypt, or Canaan, or Knossos, or Mycenæ to their approximate dates.

With regard to the details of building, let us take one instance, that of the *pilaster-strips* which are supposed to be derived from timber-construction.

Professor Baldwin Brown does not deny what Sharon Turner first pointed out, and what his successors have

repeated *ad nauseam*, that the earliest Saxon buildings were of wood,[1] and that consequently their word for "to build" was "*getimbrian*"; so that the Saxon Chronicler can actually say of one who promised to build a church of stone, that he promised "to *getimbrian* a church of stone"; but he proves that these "pilaster-strips" have nothing really to do with "carpenters' masonry," but are derived from other sources altogether. These are to be found in the German "Lisene," or slightly-projecting buttress, which is characteristic of the Austrasian province of the Carlovingian empire, with which the Anglo-Saxon kings were in close communication—a communication dating from and intensified by the labour of St. Boniface and other Saxon missionaries on the Continent.[2] So, too, he shows that the characteristic western tower is also derived from Austrasian sources.

This is not the time or place to discuss further the reasons for his conclusions, but I think he has given amply sufficient proofs for his contentions.

The "long-and-short" quoins, which have also been said to be derived from original wooden buildings, and to be "carpenter's masonry," are an absolutely special charac-

[1] So were some of the latest. Greenstead, in Essex, comes under period C 3; but there was a special reason for its construction. This structure belongs to the blockhouse, not to the half-timber system of construction, and its date is recorded, viz., 1013.—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii, p. 139; see *Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, p. 40.

[2] The buttress, a marked feature of Norman Romanesque, hardly occurs in the Romanesque of Germany, where its place is taken by the so-called "Lisene," a feature with some superficial resemblance to the buttress, but differing therefrom in that it serves a decorative rather than a constructive purpose. . . . .

The buttress in Early Norman buildings (as in the west wall at Northborough) is of slight projection, but it adds real strength to the building—the "Lisene" does not. Moreover, these latter are more closely disposed along the wall surfaces.

It has been noticed about these German "Lisenen," as about our Anglo-Saxon "pilaster-strips," that they look like the uprights of half-timber work. We are fortunate, however, in being able to trace back the history of the features in German buildings, till we find it originating, not in any form of wood-construction, but in the classical pilaster that is so familiar a feature in later Roman architecture.

The Carolingian Gatehouse at Lorsch, near Worms, and Gernrode, in the Hartz Mountains, are examples.—*Op. cit.*, p. 58.

teristic of Saxon work, and are never used in Norman work, or indeed anywhere on the Continent. Examples occur of long-and-short *pilasters*, in Austrasia, as at St. Pantaleon, Cologne, which may be compared with Breamore, Hants.[1]

Long-and-short *quoins* are unknown out of *Saxon* England.[2]

Let us now examine the characteristic features of this building.[3] These are—(1) the remaining *porticus* on the north side, and the strong presumption that there was originally, as Mr. Irvine was convinced, a corresponding *porticus* on the south side. These were known as "alae," but have more in common with the later transepts than with aisles. In neither of them is the door in the centre, the reason of which was to provide space for an altar against the eastern wall;[4] (2) the pilasters and arcading on the surface of the exterior walls of the nave and chancel, which, although an added ornamentation to

[1] "So soon as the disastrous and terrifying Danish inroads had become the predominant feature of the time, the art of building must have received a check; for though a church ruined by a Viking raid would, as a general rule, be rebuilt, yet as such raids were often repeated there was no encouragement for display or elaboration in any new or renovated fabric. Notwithstanding this, the art of building during the second—or Danish—period was certainly not at a standstill, for the development of the special Saxon peculiarity of the long and short quoins must fall within this time. It derives its origin from some of the earliest work, and it is in normal use in the latest period, so that its evolution must fall in the intermediate epoch. It is not easy, however, to identify long-and-short quoins in the making, so to say, for this special arrangement of pieces may occur accidentally in quoins that are not intended to be of this particular character. A more minute examination of our Saxon buildings may reveal evidence of the gradual formation of their characteristic features, but such "Transitional" forms are at present difficult to identify. The quoin at St. Mildred's, Canterbury, which is very unevenly arranged, may be regarded by some as Transitional, and the quoins at Sockburn, Durham, when compared with Escomb, carry the same suggestion."—*Op. cit.*, p. 297.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 87 *seq.*, and p. 89.

[3] A detailed description is given in Professor Baldwin Brown's *The Arts in Early England*, vol. ii, pp. 131-139.

[4] "The characteristic narrow Saxon doorway at Bradford-on-Avon is rather late than early."—*Op. cit.*, p. 297.

East Wall of Nave, showing Narrow Door-like Arch to Chancel.

Inner Door, North Porch, Opening into Nave.

Saxon Church, North Porch.

the completed building, are yet part of the original design which the building was intended to exhibit. The stones were cut after they were placed in position, but the architect or master-builder *intended* the church to exhibit the appearance which it actually does. It is a portion of the original scheme, not an afterthought; (3) the extremely low and small chancel arch;[1] and (4) the angel figures bearing scrolls, which may be considered by themselves. We also note that the nave is as high as it is long, and nearly twice as high as it is broad.[2]

If we ask ourselves now what are the characteristic features of churches belonging to Class A, *i.e.*, churches which may be undoubtedly assigned to the period 600 to 800, from the fact that, as in the case of Jarrow and Wearmouth, we know from contemporary evidence that they were built in that period, the question is not as easy of answer as might at first sight be thought; because, as our author says, there is no use in arguing in a circle, and saying, for example, that X is early because Y is not to be found in it; or Y late because it does not appear in X; but there are certain broad features which help us to a decision.[3]

[1] "It is a characteristic of English architecture through the whole mediæval period, that even in edifices of great importance vault-construction is rather avoided than favoured; as an example of this we may take Durham. Among all the numerous specimens of pre-Conquest architecture there is only one that exhibits a vault in any other position than as a crypt. In arch construction there is the same deficiency, for though there are well-constructed Saxon arches—Barnack, Worth, Wittering—yet as a rule the openings of Saxon doorways and chancel and tower arches tend to narrowness, and at Bradford-on-Avon the chancel-arch is only 3 ft. 6 in. in width, and one of the principal doorways a little over 2 ft.; while we find again and again examples of faultily-cut voussoirs (*e.g*, the tower-arch at Bosham), which shows that the elementary principle of the radiating joint was by no means universally apprehended among Saxon builders."—*Op. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] A very good general view of this Church will be found in this volume of the *Journal*, p. 56.

[3] "Bradford-on-Avon appears in general character a singularly early church, but when we observe its double-splayed windows, reckon up its pilaster-strips, and note the curious resemblance of its external arcading to that in the interior of the very late Saxon church at Dunham Magna in Norfolk, we begin to distrust the impression of great antiquity."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74.

The characteristics of Class A, *e.g.*, St. Martin and St. Pancras, Canterbury; Rochester, Lyminge, Reculver, Brixworth, Ripon and Hexham crypts, Escomb, Monkwearmouth, and Jarrow, are thus described by Professor Baldwin Brown:—

"All these have this in common—and Bradford-on-Avon is outside the group—that they are distinguished by the absence of certain features, which are common in Anglo-Saxon churches generally. We do not find in them long-and-short quoins, double windows with midwall shafts, double-splayed lights, pilaster-strips, strip-work surrounding openings, or plinths; nor, we may add, internally-splayed loops of a tall, narrow form.

"The features mentioned were introduced about the tenth century, at the epoch when most of them were coming into use in post-Carolingian Germany . . . Will anyone now maintain the theory that the Saxon pilaster-strips are copied from half-timbered work, and are not rather connected with the German Lisenen;[1] or that Saxon towers, more than 80 per cent. of which are western towers, are derived from Italy, where the western tower is almost unknown; or that the windows were fetched by a long journey from Italy, when we could have found them, and found them, too, in *western* towers, just across the North Sea? Are we to claim double-splayed windows as our native invention, or credit them to Italy or Gaul, where they are hardly found, when we know that they were in abundant use in post-Carolingian Austrasia, and were there employed just as they were employed in

[1] Yet we read:—"Still more characteristic are the long, narrow, lath- or pilaster-like strips of stone joined by arches or straight braces, with which the walls are decorated, which are unmistakably taken from wooden originals" (*Social England*, vol. i, p. 288, 1900). And another, but still erroneous, idea is put forth by Messrs. Banister Fletcher, in their *History of Architecture*, p. 229, where they say:—"The masonry work is considered by some to show the influence of wood architecture, as in the 'long-and-short' work, the triangular openings, and baluster mullion; but these features are rather rude attempts to copy the contemporary Romanesque work of Ravenna and other Italian towns."

England, in constant association with the other features mentioned above ?[1]

"We thus obtain a useful line of demarcation between late and early Saxon buildings. Those in which appear the features just discussed are comparatively late; while absence of those features, combined with positive indications of early date, suffice for the attribution of an example of the pre-Danish epoch."

Once more, we notice the great height of the nave walls at Bradford. "This is a peculiarity found neither in the basilicas of Romanesque lands, nor in the Celtic oratories, but came into vogue in parts of the Continent, as well as in England, in the times of unrest and danger which fell upon Christendom when the Vikings forced their keels up the rivers of Western and Central Europe. Lofty walls and small apertures high up in them were a means of protection against raiders."

This is the explanation of this feature at Monkwearmouth, which otherwise belongs undoubtedly to Class A, and suggests a re-building of Benedict's original structure before 867. Thus the height of the walls, apart from every other consideration, is against an early date.

The rectangular chancel, whether it be a natural growth or an importation from Ireland, is no criterion of date or period, as it occurs equally in early Escomb and in late Repton and Boarhurst. We see it here, and taking the comparatively few Saxon churches of which the eastern termination is assured, we can count a score of square ends to set against ten apses, and probably the square-ended chancels outnumbered the apsidal one many times over.[2]

[1] "Double-splayed windows are of Austrasian origin, *e.g.*, the Rotunda at Fulda, 820; Niederzell, still earlier; St. Pantaleon, Cologne, 980."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 63-65. Yet the double-splayed window—a distinctly non-Norman feature—occurs in what must be Norman work on the west side of the cloisters at Norwich."—p. 82, and *vide* p. 331:—"The percentage of such survivals is probably greatest in the East-Anglian region."

[2] "The *ten* Saxon apsidal-ended chancels are: Lyminge, Reculver, St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Deerhurst, and Worth—semi-circular; Rochester, Lindisfarne and probably St. Pancras—semi-elliptical; Brixworth,

Lastly, there is the *porticus*, which again is no criterion of date taken by itself; for we find it at St. Pancras, Canterbury; it is mentioned by Bede; and the word is used indifferently for "porch" and "aisle," *e.g.*, Dunstan is said by William of Malmesbury to have added "*alae vel porticus*" to the church at Glastonbury, and there it is evidently "aisles."[1]

rounded internally, but exterior polygonal; Wing polygonal, inside and out."—*Op. cit.*, p. 118.

"The apse, derived from Celtic originals, remains throughout the whole history of ecclesiastical architecture, and is to-day the normal form for the chapels of mansions or institutions."—*Ib.*, p. 279.

"The *twenty* square-ended chancels are: Barton-on-Humber, Barrow, Boarhurst, Bradford-on-Avon, Breamore, North Burcombe, Coln Rogers, Daylingworth, Deerhurst Chapel, Dover, Escomb, Heysham Chapel, Kirk Hammerton, Repton, Sidbury, Tichborne, Wareham, Weybourn, Whitfield, Wittering."—*Ib.*, p. 281.

[1] It may here be observed that Anglo-Saxon architecture derives from two main sources, viz.:—(*a*) Roman, (*b*) Celtic.

(*a*) "Roman" does not necessarily mean Italian, but may be derived from Gaul, Spain, and Africa. From *this* source are derived the "*baluster*" shafts, viz., those having the appearance of being "turned in a lathe." Cf. Chollerton and Jarrow.—*Op. cit.*, p. 9.

(*b*) To the Celtic influence must be ascribed the *sloping doors and jambs.*—Glendalough is the original of these features at Escomb and Brigstock.

The influence of *timber-work* is discussed, *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 to 42, and the author's conclusion is:—"On the whole, then, we must negative the hypothesis that either Danish or earlier Saxon timber technique supplied models for Saxon stone architecture."

The influence of Austrasia (*i.e.*, Germany) was predominant, although Alcuin settled at Tours, the capital of Neustria, as Boniface did at Metz, and Willibrod at Aachen, and was political as well as religious. —*Op. cit.*, p. 46; this is shown first, *inter alia*, by the fact that whereas Benedict Biscop, 680, sent for workers in glass to Gaul, Cuthbert of Jarrow, in 790, sent for experts to his countryman, Lul, at Mainz on Rhine.—*Op. cit.*, p. 45; next, by the predominance in buildings of Class C of *Herring-bone work;* of the addition of *Western* Towers: "Save in England alone, we do not find this treatment of western ends in vogue in any of the other districts of Romanesque architecture"; of *Pilaster-strips* (Lisenen) and *long-and-short quoins*, though this latter is *native;* of *double openings* with midwall shafts, as at Trier; of *double-splayed* windows, as also at Trier. "In this double-splayed window we can see another peculiarity of the Eastern province, for Norman architecture is innocent of it." But it *survived* into Norman work in East Anglia.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 331.

When, therefore, we examine Bradford and other churches of the period to which we have assigned it, we find that it possesses features which those churches that belong to Class A have not, and that it *has not* what those have. The church which corresponds most closely with Bradford in the matter of the arcading, though this is external, and that is internal, is undoubtedly Dunham Magna, in Norfolk, where the internal arcading shows a remarkable likeness to the external arcading on the chancel at Bradford, but it is more elaborate and comparatively later. There is a "pilaster-strip" at Dunham, which corresponds with the similar work here.[1]

Taking thus the *details*, the *technique*, the *plan*, and the *proportions* of this church into consideration, singly and together, and comparing it with the examples of Saxon architecture whose position in the scheme is approximately fixed in accordance with the principles hereinbefore described and explained, we shall come to the conclusion that Professor Baldwin Brown is not very far from right in assigning it to Class C 1 in his list, *i.e.*, to between the years 950 and 1000 A.D.; and it may very possibly fall within the great period of church building and restoration which belongs to the reign of Edgar (959 to 975), rather than be assigned to that of Ethelred.

It is one of the most interesting monuments of its time, and the interest is enhanced not only by the fact of its forming another important link in the chain which helps us to place the buildings left to us by our Saxon ancestors in an assured order of succession, but also by the fact of its marvellous and yet unintentional preservation to our own day, and its still more marvellous discovery, and re-instatement!

The two figures of angels referred to above are not, needless to say, in their original positions. They were discovered embedded in the wall above the chancel-arch during the restoration of the building, and placed where they are now to be seen. They seem to have formed part of a lost group: a figure of the Crucified in the centre;

[1] "Dunham Magna has external "pilaster-strips" that start and end with a step-like finish that reminds us of the similar feature at Bradford-on-Avon."—*Op. cit.*, 225.

and the figures themselves, with the scrolls they bear, have a remarkable resemblance to drawings in the *Benedictional* of St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, 963-984, which brings them into line as belonging to the period when the church of Aldhelm was rebuilt, viz., the time of Edgar or Ethelred. The book is now in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth.

It was during the intermediate or Danish period that that connection with Germany was established which is so important in its influence on art in England.[1] The special features on which the suggestion of this kinship is founded did not, however, come into vogue in Germany before about the tenth century; and their introduction into English work may be due to the marked activity in church-building and restoration that signalised the reign of Edgar (959-975 A.D.).

The most intelligible theory of the architecture of this epoch seems to be that when the new activity began, the English builders of the time found themselves rather at a loss for features which should give an architectural character to their fabrics, and were glad to adopt the pilaster-strips of their neighbours across the North Sea.

To sum up, we ask: Is it now possible to hold, with Sharon Turner and some later writers, that the architecture of the Anglo-Saxons was rude and barbarous?

Rather must we say that, to judge by surviving examples, the Saxon village church of stone, though architecturally plain, was a building not far below the average size and pretension of a village church of the later mediæval period. Could we restore in thought the earlier monuments which have perished, our estimate of Saxon buildings might still be a higher one.

The Saxon builder uses big material whenever he can procure it. He possesses his own stock of forms, and in consequence his work, when any details are present, is as

[1] On the connection between England and Germany, Bishop Stubbs says: "The foreign relations of England during the tenth and eleventh centuries ought to be explored. There is no reason to suppose that the invasion of the Danes interrupted the intercourse with Germany, as maintained by Alfred, Edward, Athelstan, and Edgar."—Stubbs' *Introductions to the Rolls Series*, Hassall, p. 34.

a rule easily recognised by its distinction from the Norman which followed it. Finally, the Saxon designer is, beyond question, a man of some initiative: a seeker —or perhaps only a groper—after architectural effect, and work like the enrichment of the wall-surfaces here at Bradford, or at Earl's Barton, or on the nave at Geddington, is carefully schemed, though in parts quite ungrammatical.

The architecture thus produced had not consistency and method enough to constitute, in the technical sense, a style, but there were in it qualities which might have been worked out under favourable conditions into a style: It constituted a province of Austrasian Romanesque, but it was an autonomous province, whose *alumni* dealt with the common stock of forms in independent fashion, and held with tenacity to certain peculiarities which were their own.

Saxon England stood outside the general development of European architecture, but the fact gives it none the less of interest in our eyes.[1]

These are the conclusions of Professor Baldwin Brown, and, for the present at least, I think he has said the last word on the subject.

In pursuing the study of Saxon architecture as a whole, as we have done, we may seem to have wandered far from the more definite study of this little monument of Saxon workmanship at Bradford in particular; but we have not done so, if we have been led thereby clearly to understand the reasons which compel us to disagree with Professor Freeman and those who saw in it the work of

[1] "Anglo-Saxon architecture thus forms an autonomous province of Austrasian Romanesque, *i.e.*, it belongs to the German rather than to the French connection. In many of its characteristics it is *directly* opposed to the Norman work which was destined to supersede it. It has, at the same time, its own individual features: some due to inheritance from the first period of conversion, others of its own evolving; and these it employs side by side with those for which foreign prototypes, or, at any rate, foreign parallels can be found. The debt of our pre-Conquest builders to the lands across the North Sea may be freely acknowledged; while at the same time full justice is done to the sub-substantial amount of originality and boldness in our native productions."—*Op. cit.*, p 69.

St. Aldhelm's own time; and to agree with those who, like Professor Baldwin Brown, see in it a most valuable and precious memorial of the great period of church restoration under Edward, Edgar, and Ethelred — the period included between the dates 950 to 1000 A.D., which was coincident with the activity of the greatest genius of Saxon times, the foremost ecclesiastic and statesman of his day, St. Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

[1] See Bishop Stubbs' appreciation of St. Dunstan, in his Introduction to the "Memorials of St. Dunstan," in the *Introductions to the Rolls Series* (Hassall, pp. 1-34).

THE BOY BISHOP (*EPISCOPUS PUERORUM*) OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.

By the Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A.

(*Continued from page* 48.)

Part II.

THE Camden Society published in 1875[1] one of the sermons to which the boys of St. Paul's School listened. No one can read this discourse without being impressed with the manifest desire on the part of those responsible for its preparation to further and develop all that is noblest in a child's life, but the fashion of it is not at all agreeable to the mind of the times in which we live. The wish to induce order and inculcate reverence is a conspicuous feature, but it is strangely enforced. This particular sermon was probably written by one of the almoners of St. Paul's, and presented by the chorister who had been elected to the office of Boy Bishop.[2] The title is in two lines, viz. :

In die Innocencium Sermo pro
Episcopo Puerorum.

The allusion in "the bidding prayer" of the sermon to "the ryghte reverende fader and worshypfull lorde *my*

[1] Two sermons preached by the Boy Bishop (i) at St. Paul's, *temp.* Henry VIII, and (ii) at Gloucester, *temp.* Queen Mary. Edited by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A. ; together with an Introduction, giving an account of the Festival of the Boy Bishop, by Edward F. Rimbault, LL.D.

[2] It was originally printed by Wynkyn de Worde before 1496. At the end of the print are two Indulgences of Pope John XXII.

broder Bysshopp of London your dyocesan, also my worshypfull *broder* the Deane of this Cathedral Churche," is very quaint as proceeding from the lips of a child chorister, but is indicative of the spirit in which the festival and the whole of its proceedings was conceived.

The other Boy Bishop's sermon,[1] written by one Richard Ramsey, was "pronounced by John Stubs, Querester, on Childermas-day at Gloceter, 1558" (*temp.* Queen Mary), the text being: "Except yow will be convertyd and made lyke unto lytill children," etc. The writer, speaking specially to "the queresters and childer of the Song School," says: "Yt is not so long sens I was one of them myself"; and he alludes in very quaint language to defects in conduct, and the like, the behaviour of the choristers being "as it were in ther schole, ther master beyng absent, and not in the Church, God being present." The one "sett in the mydes," he puts forward for an example, yet "loke in his face and you wold think that butter would not melt in his mouth; but as smooth as he lokes, I will not wysh you to folow hym if you know as much as I do." It is pathetic to find this child of song contrasting his "hye dygnyte" with the hard discipline to which, as an ordinary chorister, he in common with his fellows was subject. The admonition not to "pluk from the littel ones" what of right they ought to possess, is, in the light of the subsequent history of cathedral choristers, and their relation to the Chapter governing the church, at once a stern reproof and a solemn admonition. The pity is that it became necessary to utter it, and that the echo of the same wail has not yet wholly ceased to be justified, although in diminished volume as the years have rolled on. The actual experience of the chorister who in this sermon gives expression to what appears to be a deep-rooted feeling of pain at the scant justice meted out to the boys of the cathedral song-school convinces me that the boy himself had some hand in its compilation. The great Erasmus, who for several years was a chorister in the Cathedral of Utrecht, had a fellow-feeling which he saw

[1] Cotton MSS., *Vespasian*, A., xxv, 173-179.

no reason to stifle. It is important to recognise not only his sympathy with the choristers (who do well to cherish his memory), but also his apparent approval of the institution of the Boy Bishop. Erasmus certainly did not esteem it "an idle farce."[1]

The allusions in the sermon to the special observance are particularly interesting:

". . . for the honor of these blessyd Innocentes and innocent childer which are remembryd in the Church this day; which day, as it is commynly termed Childermas-day, so is it celebrate and solemnisyd by the preferment of childer in all great Cathedral Churches which gyve the childer the prerogative this day above men, in token that the innocent childer which shed their bloud for the person of the most pure innocent child Jesus had a prerogative above all men in their kind of martyrdom . . . Why am I set up in this place?"

Turning from exhortation addressed to elders, the boy continues:

"Now for you childer, both boys and wenches," etc., etc.

Very soundly does this child of song reprove parents for the lack of responsibility evidenced by them, clearly no less a cause of anxiety then as now. The reflections on the Protestant martyrs are strange. In respect of their patient sufferings they are said to have lacked "the commendacion of innocency." The practice of the reading of the Martiloge at St. Paul's by the choristers there is casually mentioned.[2] Also a request is made for prayer for the departed, to the end that "soules lyenge in the paynes of Purgatory" may be delivered. School discipline is touched upon, as when the Master "wrygeth (the child) by the eares," etc., etc.[3]

At St. Paul's the Canons made over to the boys the

[1] Vide *Concio de puero Jesu*, spoken by a boy of St. Paul's.

[2] Besides reading in Chapter, the choristers frequently read the liturgical lessons, etc., vested in surplice; likewise sundry notices, adding at the close, "Sirs, bid a blessing." A list of duties would also be given out.

[3] The ancient church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli is the scene of a festival, during which children are privileged to preach sermons prepared for their use. Outside the church there is considerable exuberance, especially on the part of the children.

offerings given at Childermas. The Boy Bishop on Holy Innocents' Day gave the feast, as recorded in Pounteney's *Register*, where five of the choristers are mentioned by name.

At Lincoln, a boy (he was thurifer) was deputed at the close of Prime to read from the Martiloge in the Chapter-house, and in various ways exercised important functions. Similarly at Salisbury, the Grail was sung in the pulpit by the boys. The exercise of such offices as these enable us to appreciate the call of a boy in cathedral churches to the highest vocation, though it were a fancied dignity only. A kind of revival of this occurred recently at a carol service at St. Saviour's Collegiate Church, Southwark, after a novel fashion. Between each carol a lesson was read, the first by a chorister, the next by a lay clerk, then by a lay reader, a deacon, a priest, a canon, and a bishop. The Bishop of the diocese pronounced a blessing after each carol.

It was at Lincoln that the reforming spirit of Bishop Grosseteste was stirred to bring about the suppression of the Boy Bishop ceremonies; but, it would seem, solely owing to the riot and unseemliness which marked the proceedings when ill-governed.

The choristers of Lincoln had the rectory of Irby All-Saints at one time appropriated to themselves, but this ancient use appears to be now honoured only in the breach. The Dean and Chapter exercise the patronage.[1]

The solemnity was observed at Durham by "the Clerks of St. Nicholas," the youths studying in the Cloister. The different cells contributed to the cost of the boy's sumptuous robes. The profits derived from payments by spectators were applied to the alms-houses of the Priory. In the Rolls after 1391, the Clerks of St. Nicholas are no longer mentioned, but "the Boy Bishop of the Alms-house" remains. For this festivity the barons of the bishopric are said to have forsaken the hawk and the hound, "leaving even their very reason at home!"

The custom may be traced at Exeter, where the festival began on the Eve of Childermas, and lasted till the Second

[1] As to the gathering of procurations by boys at Childermas, *see* Camden Society *Miscellany*, vol. vii.

Vespers, the boys taking the parts of chanters and canons, chaplains and cross-bearers, while the Residentiary Canons bore the censers and the vicars the tapers, the Dean and Canons preceding them in procession from the west door into the choir.[1] At Lichfield and Chichester, after Vespers at Childermas, the choristers, arrayed in their costume, called at the houses of residents in the Close, where money, sweetmeats, etc., were given. This latter custom has obtained to a greater or less extent among all cathedral boys, until very recent times; and, in some form or another, probably in several places exists still.

At Norwich it was customary, certainly as late as the time of Dean Pellew, for the choristers, wearing their sleeved gowns of fine purple cloth, to dine and play at the Deanery on or about Holy Innocents' Day. After Cathedral evensong, at four o'clock, the boys returned to the Deanery, where they were allowed well-nigh every indulgence, and, towards the close of the evening, a distribution was made by the Dean himself to the boys, according to seniority, of wine and cake. This I have always understood to be a very old custom, shorn however of much of its significance. At the same church distribution was made to the choristers about the same time, of money rewards, generally regarded as gratuities to the boys, in lieu of the joys that proceeded from a season when they were wont to make merry in the Childermas observance.[2]

The fourteen boys at Norwich originally had seats in the Chapter-house at the daily meeting of the convent in Chapter, a remarkable evidence of their high vocation and recognised status.[3]

[1] At Exeter, as well as at other Cathedrals, the Bishop being celebrant, at the conclusion of the service, the choristers were accustomed to range themselves in two lines to await his blessing as he passed through their ranks, This degenerated into the boys "making their bow," while they obtained no blessing!

[2] It is interesting to learn, on the authority of Blomefield, that the Cathedral choristers at Norwich were accustomed on St. Nicholas' Day to hear high mass in the Chapel of Saint William-in-the-Wood, the Boy Martyr.

[3] In 1520 the number of boys had fallen to *eight*, and this is still the actual number of those on the foundation.

Both at Norwich and Ely residence-money was paid by the Canons to the choristers, and, probably in some curtailed fashion, is so still. It was always understood—certainly at Norwich—that the boys could demand this payment as a matter of right, and, as each month of residence came to a close, the senior choirster approached the Canon for the customary guinea, which was always forthcoming with more or less good grace. It is (or was) a custom of remote antiquity, an instance probably of the fealty and deference paid to the Boy Bishop and his companions by the Canons when, for the nonce, they were subject to a child's rule.[1] Certain it is, that at Norwich sums of money were annually paid to the Boy Bishop and his clerks on St. Nicholas Day, by all the officers of the Cathedral Church. The Almoner defrayed out of his revenues the expenses of the feast (wine, etc.), when the boys went in procession on St. Nicholas' Day to St. Leonard's, and heard mass there.[2]

Pro vino conventui in die Sc'i Nichi	x*s.*
Pro proventibus	vij*s.*
In victualibus empt. cum aliis expensis pro Episcopo puerorum in Festo Sc'i Nichi	vij*s.*

The *Infirmarius* paid to the Boy Bishop and his clerks, iij*d.*, and the gardeners, ij*d.*

At Ipswich we learn from Foxe[3] that the Master of the Grammar School was wont to lead the Boy Bishop through the streets "for apples and belly-cheer: and whoso would not receive him, he made them heretics, and such also as would not give his faggot to the bonfire for Queen Mary's child.[4] And thus continued he at Ipswich the most part of Queen Mary's days."[5] It was by an

[1] A systematic search among the little-known Sacrist's Rolls in the Treasury of the Cathedral Church would probably supply much interesting information in this direction.

[2] *Almoners' Accounts*, 3 Rich. II.

[3] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. viii, p. 282 (Pratt's Edition). Additional information relating to the Boy Bishop in East Anglia may be seen in *The East Anglian*, vol. i, N. S., pp. 169-172.

[4] A term which originated in the revival under Queen Mary of the Boy Bishop observance.

[5] Strype's *Eccles. Memorials* may be consulted in reference to the revival under Queen Mary of the Boy Bishop custom.

Edict issued in 1554 (November 13th) by Bishop Bonner, of London, apparently to the great joy of the people, that the custom was restored. Strype[1] tells us that the Boy Bishop, *in pontificalibus*, went through most parts of London "after the former fashion" in 1556, so that "St. Nicholas yet goeth about the City," became a current phrase. Queen Mary showed her attachment to the custom by receiving the Boy Bishop in her private apartments. Why it was ordered (December 5th, 1554) that St. Nicholas should *not* go about, whether owing to Convocation meeting that same day, or merely dictated by simple prudence, is uncertain.

The subject of the Boy Bishop has a very distinct bearing upon the *status* of Cathedral choristers, who have always occupied a place on the foundation,[2] being esteemed highly, not only for the sake of their office, but because childhood has a dignity peculiarly its own, which the Boy Bishop custom emphasized.

As early as the sixth century, there were schools instituted for the special training of choristers, and they continued to be so maintained in connection with the religious houses, forming, in fact, the earliest schools for boys. It seems to have been customary, as late as the seventeenth century, for schools dedicated to St. Gregory the Great to allow one of the boys to personate the Pope, while others represented Cardinals.

From the ranks of the singing boys the Church selected the meetest of her clerks; proficient in the art of song and apt in the rule of divine service, who so worthy of advancement to the higher vocation? Thus the election of the Boy Bishop was a generous encouragement to a high and honourable ambition. The governing bodies of Cathedral churches would have acted well and wisely had they, by the establishment of some institution having a like end in view, replaced so laudable a custom, retaining their

[1] *Memorials*, vol. iii, pp. 202, 205, 206, 310.

[2] This arrangement is being tampered with so far as it relates to the lower ministers of Cathedral churches; but the lopping of the smaller branches may eventually furnish a precedent for cutting down the tree! The Cathedral Statutes include a Chapter "*De Statu Choristarum*," which is as binding as any in the collection, or ought to be.

choristers for the service of the Church, instead of sending them adrift, utterly regardless of their future well-being, as soon as the child's voice had departed. The Church would have reaped its reward by an addition to the ranks of its clergy of a body of men peculiarly fitted for her continuous service, while the members of the Cathedral Chapter would have had some satisfaction in feeling that for themselves, if not for their predecessors in office, one of the most important of the many obligations resting upon them had been in some degree at least fulfilled. The writer of Symons' *Lesson of Wisdom for Children* is seen encouraging children to be diligent in their lessons, thus—

> "And lerne as faste as thou can,
> For our byshop is an old man;
> And therfor thou must lerne faste,
> If thou wilt be byshop when he is past."

The Statutes of King's College (St. Mary and St. Nicholas), Cambridge, promulgated in the reign of Henry VI, sanction the election of a Boy Bishop by the choristers, who might, on the feast of St. Nicholas, perform the divine offices, Mass only excepted. There was a similar regulation at Eton. Brand (*Popular Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 426, ed. Bohn) states that he had traced the custom (*inter alia*) at Colchester, but of this I can learn nothing. Among other places that may be noted are Hyde Abbey, St. Peter-per-Mountergate (Norwich), St. Mary's (Nottingham), etc., etc.

The York records give the names of several Boy Bishops, and the date of the confirmation of their appointments during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By an order of the Chapter after A.D. 1366, the senior chorister was chosen to be Boy Bishop, possibly owing to the fact of some disagreement among the boys. Jealousy was not unlikely to arise when so enviable a position was at the disposal of the youths themselves.[1] The York accounts point to a large balance as the result of the Boy Bishop's gatherings, which fell to him. In certain instances, it would appear that the sum remaining was

[1] At Noyon, in France, two rival Bishops were elected, which led to serious disputation.

utilised to defray the expenses of choristers aspiring to the priesthood, and it is very important to note this aspect of the observance.

At Ripon, an interesting vestige of the Childermas festivities remained until recent times, the choristers of that church distributing apples (with a sprig of rosemary stuck in each) to the congregation assembled for service, from whom the boys received small gifts of money in return.[1]

In the statutes of his college of Ottery St. Mary, Bishop Grandison expressly directed that the boys in their celebration were not to wander beyond the parish on the Feast of the Holy Innocents. This order doubtless points to some occasion of the customary circuit outside the parish being abused, which necessitated curtailment. This was the season of roaming about, "gadding about with St. Nicholas clerks," is Foxe's phrase; and it quite brings to mind the proverbial dangers of the streets, accelerated by the conditions under which our forefathers lived.

From the Issue roll of the Exchequer (Michaelmas, 35 Hen. VI), I extract the following relating to St. Stephen's Chapel:

> 25 Oct. Puero Episcopo libere capelleRegis Sti. Stephani. In denariis de eleemosina ipsius Regis in vigilia S. Nicholai, prout consimili Episcopo temporibus progenitorum dicti domini Regis in vigilia predicta antiquiores solvere consueverunt per breve generale currens ut supra . . . . . xx*s*.

It is said of Ethelwolfe that he was so well learned and devout that the clerks of the church of Winchester made choice of him in his youth as Bishop, and that he was Bishop of that See seven years before he became King. Although no "Child Bishop" in the strictest sense, it is of interest to learn that others traced the lineaments of episcopacy in Ethelwolfe while he was yet a stripling.

Albanus tells of a custom in Franconia among the scholars, for one on St. Nicholas' Day to play the Bishop, and other two to act as his deacons. After divine service in the church, the Bishop's subsidy was gathered from

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790.

the townsfolk. The origin of this may have grown out of a desire to manifest and encourage a kindly spirit among and towards children. A boy being selected to act the part of a "Nicholas" to his companions, received like recognition at the hands of the people. The custom was to fast on the eve of the day, in anticipation of the good things which St. Nicholas would bring. To shut one's doors on St. Nicholas and his clerks was to incur something more than ecclesiastical censure.

At Winchester College (A.D. 1415-1462), we meet with the following :—

In dat' diversis hominibus de Ropley venientibus ad Coll. die Innoc. et tripudiantibus et cantantibus in aula coram Episcopo Scholarium . . . . xx*d.*

Dat' Epo' Nicholatensi visitanti Dominum custodem in hospito suo de nocte Sancti Nicholai . . . iiij*d.*

The following extracts from inventories are representative only, furnishing details relating to the vestments and other ornaments in use in the Boy Bishop ceremonial. They are set down without any particular regard to order or arrangement. Episcopal apparel is, of course, restricted to the Boy Bishop's use, while albs, copes, etc., are specially associated with the attendant choristers.

At Lincoln (1536) "a coope of Rede velvett with rolles and clowdes ordeyned for the barne bisshop with this scripture THE HYE WAY IS BEST" is mentioned.

Perhaps the most important among the inventories which have come down to us is that found in the well-known *Northumberland Book*, given as follows :—

Imprimis j myter well garnished with perle and precious stones with nowches of silver and gilt before and behind.

Item iiij rynges of silver and gilt with four redde precious stones in them.

Item j pontifical with silver and gilt, with a blew stone in hytt.

Item j owche broken silver and gilt, with iiij precius stones and a perle in the myddes.

Item a Crosse with a staf of coper and gilt with the ymage of St. Nicolas in the myddes.

Item j vesture redde with lyons of silver with brydds of gold in the orferores of the same.

Item j albe to the same with starres in the paro.

Item j white cope stayned with cristells and orferes (of) redde sylkes with does of gold and white napkins about their necks.

Item iiij copes (of) blue sylk with red orfeves trayled with whitt braunches and flowers.

Item j steyned cloth of the ymage of St. Nycholas.

Item j tabard of skarlett and a hodde thereto lyned with whitt sylk.

Item a hode of skarlett lyned with blue sylk.

A Westminster inventory of 1388 contains a number of ornaments for St. Nicholas,[1] including mitre, gloves, surplice, and rochet for the Boy Bishop, besides two albs, and a cope with griffins and other beasts, with fountains giving forth water; a velvet cope of divers colours, with the new arms of England, and a second mitre and a ring. In 1540, "the vjth mytre for St. Nicholas byshoppe. A great blewe cloth with Kyngs on horsse back for St. Nicholas cheyre."

Among the Sarum jewels in 1214-1222, was "annulus unus ad festum puerorum."

St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.—Among the goods in 1495 *pro pueris*, are tunicles, red, white, and crimson, with orfreys of damask and velvet; one set of albs of blue damask, and two with apparels of red silk, besides a banner of St. Nicholas.

St. Frideswide, Oxford (*temp.* Henry VIII).—Tunicles of red and white damask and silk; amesses of blue and white baudekin, and chequered with red silk and gold, besides the albs, are mentioned as for the choristers.

Oxford, All Souls.—"j chessible, j cope and mitre for Nicholas bishop."

St. Paul's Cathedral.—Mitres for the Boy Bishop, and numerous copes for the Boy Bishop and his train. Twenty-eight copes are thus mentioned, not only for the Boy Bishop and his attendants, but also for the "Feast of Fools.[2] Also "*Parvi baculi pro Episcopo puerorum*," etc., etc. In the earliest Inventory (A.D. 1245) there is a mitre for the Boy: white, flowered and embroidered with gold, the gift of John de Belemains, Prebendary of Chiswick in 1225. There was, likewise, a rich pastoral staff for his use.

Norwich.—John Blomefield, Registrar to the Bishop of Norwich, by will dated A.D. 1506, gave a robe of worsted linen, with purple

[1] The Boy Bishop not infrequently was so called. Also "Nicholas," "Nicholas Child," St. Nicholas Bishop." His attendants were termed "St. Nicholas Clerks," and the occasion "St. Nicholas-tyde." "Goynge abought with Saynt Nycholas Clarkes" was a way of expressing participation in the gambols.

[2] The Church would appear at one time to have taken charge of the burlesque as a distinct institution, doubtless to moderate its ill influence.

satin, in honour of St. Nicholas, for the Boy Bishop, to be worn *day and night* on St. Nicholas Day *within the parish*[1] In 1498, money was expended in victuals, gloves, etc., for the Boy Bishop and his attendants on St. Nicholas Day.

St. Andrew's, Norwich (*temp.* Edw. VI).—"It'm the Bishoppes sewte wt. a coope . . . . xs."

St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich (A.D. 1368).—"*Imprimis* one vestment of silk, viz.: One chassuble, two tunicles, one cope, and three albes. *Item*, one mitre of great price with one pastoral staff."[2]

Elsing Hospital (St. Mary's Priory of Austin Canons).—"A small lytell coope for a chylde bysshop . . xiij*d.*"

Winchester College, A.D. 1421.—"Crux deaurata de cupro cum baculo pro Episcopo puerorum."

Winchester Cathedral, A.D. 1552.—"A child's cope of paynted gold;" "iij copes for children, ij of whight, j shaked with blew."

Durham Cathedral.—"xx copes with sex tunicles for children. v albes for children."

Lichfield, A.D. 1345.—"Four small choir copes for the Choristers on Holy Innocents' Day." A century later, the mitre, cope, gloves, sandals, and staff are named.

York Minster.—"One cope de tissue pro Episcopo puerorum. Novem capæ pro pueris."[3]

Lincoln (St. Christopher), A.D. 1488.—"*Item*, a cope of clothe of gold ffeeble for the childe Bisshop. *Item*, a cope ffeble for a childe of dyvers colours, and iij copes of white bustyan and the orpharies of grene, thise iij copies being small coopes for children." "*Item.* ij awbes of say for children of oon sewte."

Temple Church, London, A.D. 1307.—"Two pairs of albes for boys;" "twenty-eight choral copes and four little copes for the choristers."

St. Benet-fynck.—"A bishop Nicholas myter . xviij*d.*"

St. Mary Woolnoth.—"The Bishopp's myter garnyshed with silver, perles, and counterfett stones. p. oz., xxij oz."

St. Katherine, near Tower of London.—"*Item*, Saincte Nicholas cope . . . . . xij*d.*"

[1] *St.-Martin-at-the-Palace Gates.*— The restriction to the bounds of the particular parish would seem to imply a determination not to encroach upon other preserves. The day and night "gadding about" must have proved wearisome in the extreme to the boys concerned.

[2] In the north transept of this church was the chapel of St. Nicholas (Cosyn's Chantry), and these entries occur in the inventory for 1368: "*Item* for the altar of St. Nicholas, three frontals with linen cloths."

"*Item* four cloths with four ridels for the aforesaid altar."

[3] The York records give the names of the Boy Bishops, and the dates of the confirmation of their several appointments during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[" *Item*, iij silken cotes for Saincte Katerine " [1]]

St. Peter Cheap, a.d. 1431.—" ij childes copes for St. Nicholas, with j myter, j tunicle, j cheseble, and iij feeble aubes for childer and a Crose for the bysshope."

St. Mary-at-Hill, Billingsgate.—"A myter for a Bishop of Seint Nycholas-tyde garnished with sylver and anelyd and perle and counterfete stones."

Rotherham.—" Myter for the barne-bishop of cloth of gold, with two knopps of silver, gilt and enamelled."

Sandwich, St. Mary.—"A lytyll chesebyll for St. Nicholas bysschop."

Witchingham, Norfolk, a.d. 1556.—"A St. Nicholas cope."

Hadleigh, Suffolk, a.d. 1480.—" A chesible and a cope for St. Nicholas."

North Elmham, Norfolk, a.d 1547, 1 Edw. VI.—
" *It'm* for making of ye Chyldren's Coopes . . xvj*d*."

Great St. Mary, Cambridge, a.d.. 1503.—" *It.*, a crose and staffe for Seint Nicholas."

[A " canape for Seint Nicholas" is also mentioned.]

Among the " goods" of the last-named parish sold May, 1550, are the following :—

" *It.*, ye rede cote and qwood yt St. Nicholas dyd wer the color red."

" *It.*, the vestement and cope yt Seynt Nycholas dyd wer. Also albs for the children."

These instances from church accounts and inventories might be easily multiplied, but sufficient indication is afforded, in such representative examples, of the vesture and adornments of the Boy Bishop[2] and his attendants, to show the widespread and important influence of the custom in cathedral and collegiate church, as well as in town and country churches. Summarised, we find (1) the mitre, garnished with all manner of precious stones; (2) cross or pastoral staff of varied richness, in one case bearing the image of St. Nicholas; (3) the ring of silver-gilt, set with precious stones; (4) gloves, (5) sandals, (6) cope, of various material and colours, embellished with rich embroidered

[1] This entry is given as evidencing the not-dissimilar observance connected with the girls' festival of St. Katherine. " Going a Kathering" was a phrase expressive of the "gadding about" that followed the religious ceremonies, as in the case of the more popular custom of the St. Nicholas celebration.

[2] The very term used to designate the Boy Bishop's habit is suggestive in this direction: " Puer Episcopali habitu ornatus."

work, etc.;[1] (7) a pontifical, richly adorned; (8) banner, or stained cloth, bearing St. Nicholas's image; (9) tabard, (10) hood, (11) ornamented cloth for St. Nicholas's chair, (12) alb, (13) chasuble, (14) rochet, (15) surplice, (16) tunicle, (17) robe of worstead, with purple satin (facings).[2]

The Dean of Durham (Dr. Kitchin) informs me that at Durham a curious echo of the custom survived in later times, in the old usage of the borrowing by the boys of the ancient copes belonging to the Cathedral. Dressed up in these, they paraded the town on May-day. It consequently ceased to answer to the Christmas festival, with which the Boy Bishop was most closely connected. At Durham his proper title was *Episcopus puerilis eleemosunariæ Dunelmensis.* Dr. Fowler's "Index to the Durham Account Rolls" shows that he was mentioned and paid every year. The charters of Finchale Priory, co. Durham,[3] contain interesting references in the accounts of 1367-1528 to payments made often out of courtesy to the Boy Bishop; and we gain an insight into the varying moods of the Exchequer, probably indicative of the state of the popular mind.[4]

An entry in the *Northumberland Household Book* illustrates the manner in which the custom was observed in the house of a person of quality, year by year, on St. Nicholas' Eve. If chapel was kept for St. Nicholas,

[1] A cope for a Boy Bishop, of white satin tissue, embroidered in floss silks, with buds, flowers, etc., was exhibited by the Right Reverend Bishop Browne at a meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1861.

[2] This, mentioned at Norwich for use day and night on St. Nicholas Day, was a special bequest. It was probably a close-fitting sleeved gown, similar in character to the gown worn by the Cathedral choristers, until discarded in favour of the girdled cassock of a different hue, at the instance of the late Dean of Norwich, Dr. Goulburn.

[3] Surtees Society.

[4] At Corbie Abbey the expenses were borne by the *Prince of the Innocents*, to meet which the monk filling the office was upon one occasion obliged to dispose of a house (A.D. 1516).

The Chapters of the Cathedrals of Amiens, Noyon, and Senlis made considerable yearly grants towards the cost of the feast, and doubtless this was usually the course adopted. At Rheims, in 1479, the Chapter only agreed to pay the expenses if masks were disused, trumpets not sounded, and the accustomed procession on horseback through the town was discontinued. Gregory cites Molanus as saying that the Boy Bishop was accustomed to receive certain rents during his year of office.

6*s.* 8*d.* was given to the master of the children of the chapel for one of the children; if otherwise, and St. Nicholas "com owte of the towne where my lord lyeth and my lord kepe no chapell," 3*s.* 4*d.* The York and Beverley Boy Bishops were thus similarly rewarded.

We learn from the account of Nicholas of Newark, who is represented as the guardian of the property of John de Cave, Boy Bishop in 1396, how the matter was ordered in regard to contributions which flowed into the boy's exchequer. The offerings were derived from gifts made in the church, the contributions of the Canons, the monasteries, the nobility and others who were specially visited by the Boy Bishop.[1] The items of expenditure are very curious.[2] The supper on the eve of the Holy Innocents' Day was a sumptuous repast. The "visitation" was continued through town and country, with much feasting and merriment.

The Bishop and his train went, on the Octave, seven miles beyond York, to the mansion of Sir Thomas Utrecht at Kexby, who bestowed upon them iij*s.* iiij*d.* So, on the second Sunday of his "episcopate" (January 7th), the Boy Bishop went his longest circuit, visiting the Priors of Kirkham and Malton; also the Countess of Northumberland at Leconfield, who gave the Boy Bishop xx*s.* and a gold ring. At Bridlington the Prior gave him a noble, and the Priors of Watton, Baynton, and Meaux each gave iij*s.* iij*d.*, etc., etc.

The mirthful element in these festal proceedings can scarcely have been productive of an altogether wholesome influence. This must specially have been the case abroad. But question as we well may certain developments of religious mirth (if the phrase may be allowed), yet there generally are to be found traces of laudable endeavour to maintain all within the bounds of what was regarded as propriety. The solemn game of ball, the dance—where, as at Paris in 1638, the senior canon led the Cathedral choristers' frolic—the dance of the Seises in Seville

[1] One Nicholas de Newsome, the Child Bishop's tenor singer, (possibly a *quondam* Boy Bishop) received a mark; John Baynton, for chanting the medius voice, had x*s.*, etc., etc. These proceedings furnish an interesting insight into the course of the itinerary.

[2] This roll has been printed in the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. vii.

Cathedral (apart from any impressiveness which we are gravely told it possesses), and many other similar customs, are based on some substantial principle of order. The dance of the Seis boys (six of the ten principal boys, who are boy canons, and live under a director in a house of their own), for example, owes its origin to the fact that a number of children dancing outside the Cathedral church held an invading band of Moors (who had sought to pillage the church) spell-bound, and thus averted harm. For this reason the dance is religiously maintained.[1]

An important feature in relation to the Boy Bishop ceremony is that of the coinage of tokens. In a well-known work[2] published at Paris in 1837 (which has an account of the old ceremonies drawn from the statutes of the church of Toul), the Continental *monnaies des Evêques des Innocens*, notably those of Amiens, are specially mentioned. Upwards of a hundred illustrations of various pieces, bearing appropriate types and legends, are given, some of which, with much interesting information, may be found depicted in Wright's *Archæological Album*.[3] It will be sufficient here to observe that the tokens are of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date. That they assume in some cases a grotesque character—in part, at least—indicates the aspect under which the observance was not infrequently viewed. The inscription, MONETA . EPI . INNOCENTUM, in slightly-varying form,[4] occurs, together with representations of such scenes as the slaughter of the Innocents, the Bishop in the act of giving his benediction, etc. It is pointed out that even in the matter of coinage the leaden tokens of the Boy Bishop bear some resemblance to the Saturnalian pieces of classic times, circulated extensively as *sigilla*. St. Nicholas' pence[5]

[1] Although not strictly a religious function, yet in Brittany, Belgium, and Germany, dancing around the altar is esteemed efficacious in cases of lumbago, and such-like maladies. Dr. Fowler tells me that the "Seises" can now hardly be said to dance: they march and bow.

[2] *Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens.*

[3] London: Chapman and Hall, 1845.

[4] *Moneta . Archiepi . Sci . Firmini* denotes the money of the *Archbishop* of the Innocents of St. Firmin at Amiens.

[5] A line from Barnabie Goodge's *Popish Kingdom* will perhaps explain the origin of St. Nicholas' pence:—

"St. Nicholas money made to give to maydens secretlie."

were in use in England at Bury St. Edmund's. In St. Mary's Church, where a St. Nicholas guild was established, a number of leaden pieces, some of the size of mediæval groats, and others of pennies, were found in the chancel aisles in 1842-3 during certain alterations.[1] Figured inscriptions of these pieces have appeared in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, the *Chronicle* of the Numismatic Society, and in the late Mr. S. Tymms' *Account* of the Church. Mr. Roach Smith was disposed to regard these tokens as "medals of presence," struck to be given to such as assisted at some particular service. Mr. Daniel Hough regarded them as commemorative of the solemnity of the Boy Bishop, and he gives weighty reasons in support of his contention.[2] When, as in England, the ceremony of the Boy Bishop was more exclusively of a religious character, the name only of St. Nicholas is impressed on the money, and not, as we have seen in France, where the name of the Bishop of the Innocents occurs. The varieties of type are readily accounted for when it is remembered that new pieces would be struck each year, while their resemblance to current coin attests their imitative character.

Henry VIII, "by the advys of his Highness Counsel," formally abrogated the Boy Bishop show in 1542,[3] as appears by a

"Proclamation devised by the King's Majesty by the advys of his Highness counsel, the xxij day of Julie, 33 Henry viij, commanding the ffeasts of Saint Luke, Saint Mark, Saint Marie Magdalene, Invention of the Crosse and St. Lawrence, which had been abrogated, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days."

The following is the concluding clause :—

"Whereas heretofore dyuers and many superstitions and chyldysh obseruances have been used and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry partes of this realm, as upon Saint

[1] It is not unlikely that the particular spot where the tokens were discovered was the place of meeting of the St. Nicholas Guild.

[2] It is interesting to note the connection which formerly existed at Bury St. Edmund's between the Guild of St. Nicholas and the Song School: the brethren of the guild rendering a yearly payment to the Abbey in respect of such tenement. The "Mast'r of the Chapell of Saynt Nicholas" likewise paid a rent for his tenement.

[3] "Not so much," says Warton, "for its superstition as its levity and absurdity."

Nicholas, Saint Catherine, Saint Clement, the holie Innocents, and such like holie daies, children (boys) be strangelie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit Priests, Bishopes, and Women, and so be ledde with Songes and dances from house to house, blessing the people and gathering of money; and boyes do singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with such other onfittinge and inconvenient usages which tend rather to derysyon than enie true glorie of God, or honour of his sayntes: the Kynges maiestie therefore myndynge nothinge so muche as to aduance the true glory of God without vain superstition, wylleth and commandeth, that from henceforth all svch superstitious observations be left and clerely extinguished throu'out all his realme and dominions for as moche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of gentilitie, than the pure and sincere religion of Christe."

The allusion here to boys being dressed as women, and going about singing and dancing, receives illustration in a Compotus roll of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester (1441). A disbursement entry refers to the boys of the monastery, who, together with the choristers of St. Elizabeth's Collegiate Chapel, near the City, were dressed up "like girls,"[1] and exhibited their sports before the abbess and nuns of St. Mary's Abbey on Holy Innocents' Day.[2] An injunction was given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe, in Oxfordshire, by Archbishop Peckham, in 1278, that on Holy Innocents' Day the public prayers should no longer be said in the church of the monastery *per parvulas*, *i.e.*, by little girls.

The mummery of the festive occasion when boys on the Feast of St. Nicholas appeared before their patrons, is seen in the cellarer's accounts of Hyde Abbey (A.D. 1490), where masks and dresses for the boys of the convent are mentioned as in use.[3]

It would appear that such exhibitions had no necessary

[1] It must be borne in mind that the boys of Cathedral and Collegiate churches became the recognised actors in the stage plays, etc., of women's parts.

[2] "Pro Pueris Eleemosynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ Sanctæ Elizabethæ ornatis more puellarum et saltantibus, cantantantibus et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatissa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in aula ibidem in die Sanctorum Innocentium."

[3] It is observable that the "Moralities" or Mystery Plays came to be played by Cathedral boys, following the abolition by Queen Elizabeth of the Boy Bishop ceremonies, and were continued on Sundays as late as the time of Charles I, by the choristers of St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal.

connection with the Boy Bishop ceremony : for, if we may judge from the Statutes of the archiepiscopal Cathedral of Tulles (1497), the festival of the Boy Bishop was followed by moralities and other sports, the farces being enacted in proper dresses, without masks, but with the utmost decorum. As it has been observed, the English and French stages illustrate each other, and throw light upon their history.

Hugh Rhodes, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, wrote a poem in the days of Queen Mary, entitled, "The Songe of the Chyld-Bishop as it was songe before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the ffeeldes on Saynt Nicholas' day and Innocents' day this yeare now present, by the chylde bysshope of Poules church with his company. *Londini*, in ædibus Johannis Cawood typographi reginæ, 1555." The song itself is described by Warton as "a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the Queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary."

I have previously referred to seeming levity countenanced in connection with the ministry of boys within the Church as a part of the Childermas observances. I must not omit to mention the custom which obtained in certain places, for children to play in church on Holy Innocents' Day.[1] At what was known as "the Burial of Alleluia," it was customary in a Paris church for a chorister to whip his top from one end of the choir to another. Upon the top, in letters of gold, was the word "Alleluia."[2] This singular custom—*a quickening of golden praise*, as I am led irresistably to phrase it—is really a blending together of religious service and child's play, which in very truth expressed the actual conditions of the Boy Bishop's proceedings.

The repetition of the observance at other than the accustomed time appears to have given rise to some irregularities, for Archbishop Peckham, of Canterbury, saw fit to prohibit the ceremony at any other season. On the Continent, the custom of repeating it was in vogue.

At Montserrat, the most famous place of pilgrimage in Spain, the choristers of the monastery (with its music

[1] This was allowed at Eyton, Rutlandshire, and elsewhere.

[2] Hone's *Every-Day Book*, vol. i, p. 199.

school dating from the tenth century), who are largely drawn from the ancient families of the country, meet yearly in solemn conclave, on the Feast of St. Nicholas, to elect one of their members to be Boy Bishop: usually, one of the most aristocratic connection, who proceeds to elect a Vicar-General and other coadjutors.[1] The Boy Bishop, arrayed in a violet mantle, &c., receives presents from the monks who are visited by him in their cells. The festivities close with a picnic provided by the Boy Bishop.

As I have before remarked, Continental usage is not to be taken as representing the real character of the English observance. The harsh judgment of many critics is based on the objectionable features that marked the celebration (mixed up as it was with many another of similar import and graver scandals), that took place out of England. A statute of the College of Navarre, at Paris (A.D. 1315), is cited by Boulay, prohibiting the scholars to perform on the Festivals of Saint Nicholas or Saint Catherine any immodest play (*ludum inhonestum*). Mention is made by other writers, of sports in the streets on St. Nicholas Day by the vicars and choral officers of a collegiate church which earned the epithet of "indecent." These outside plays were the chief (if not the only) cause of real complaint; and, as we have seen often, were allowed at other times than the Nicholas-tide. "The eleemosinary boys or choristers" of Maxstoke Priory, near Coventry, on the Feast of the Purification thus acted in 1430 (and probably yearly), at Lord Clinton's castle.[2] Like instances are pretty numerous, but have little or no connection with the Boy Bishop ceremony, when removed from the particular season and the religious adjuncts.

At Eton College the Boy Bishop officiated on St. Nicholas Day, not only at Evensong, but at Mass.[3] The Eton *Montem*, which in process of time assumed a military rather than an ecclesiastical character, was

[1] Among the privileges enjoyed by the boys is exemption from punishment, attendance at early mass, and breakfast in bed!

[2] Warton, *History of English Poetry*.—Sec. xxxiv.

[3] "In festo Sancti Nicholai in quo, et nulla tenus in festo Sanctorum Innocentium, divinæ officia praeter missæ secreta exequi et dici premittimus per episcopam puerorum Scholarium, ad hoc de eisdem annis singulis eligendum."

without doubt a continuation of the Boy Bishop custom. I only allude to the *Montem* observance in order to gather points of resemblance to the Boy Bishop ceremonies. The procession of the scholars to Salt Hill, the grotesque costume of the salt-bearers and their scouts or attendants, the collection of money, ostensibly for the purpose of supporting their Captain while at the University,[1] may not be very suggestive of features common to these functions, but that the celebration in early days took place on one of the days between St. Nicholas and the Holy Innocents' Day, taken in conjunction, is sufficient to establish the fact. The Eton Captain I am inclined to regard as the legitimate successor of the *Nicholas child.*

In the Wardrobe Accounts, 19 Edw. III, is an entry which gives some indication of a reputation enjoyed by the boys attached to the Cathedral Church of Antwerp, whose fame may have quickened the zeal of English choristers and their governors. It is as follows:—

> "EPISCOPO PUERORUM ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domini rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis . . xiij*s.* vj*d.*"

This, of course, would have no direct bearing upon the religious festival itself.

These remarks will be incomplete if some mention be not made of Childermas Day (*Cildu-mæsse-dæge*). Westminster Abbey was hallowed on this day, which offers one of the few instances of the retention of the word "mass," indicating its high position as a festival. Yet it has been regarded as an "unlucky day," and events begun on that day are, it is said, never likely to be finished. It is an old custom to ring a muffled peal in many churches on this day;[2] occasionally it is a funeral knell only. The York fabric rolls note the fact that the colour of the Boy Bishop's cope on Innocents' Day was *red*, the purple of episcopacy giving way, I assume, either to the festal colour or the red of martyrdom.

[1] An estate belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral was originally bequeathed to the two senior choristers for a like purpose.

[2] The custom may be instanced at East Dereham (St. Nicholas) and elsewhere, of ringing on St. Stephen's-Day.

The alleged custom of whipping children upon the morning of Holy Innocents' Day, a form of re-enactment of Herod's cruelty, is thought to have produced a lasting remembrance of the event in juvenile minds. This mild species of chastisement is on an equality with the afore-stated signs of mourning, etc., while the happiness of childhood is displayed in the subsequent festivities offered them. John Gregorie, in his treatise, says that at Oseney a child's foot was produced on this day, decked in colours of red and black, which was solemnly carried about and adored by the people. This strange custom is said to have been maintained on the authority of a Ritual belonging to the Abbey. An instance of the widespread feeling with regard to this day being one of ill-omen appears in the postponement of the coronation of King Edward IV from that particular day. The Church expressed her sense of this sorrowful day by omitting the *Te Deum*, the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the *Alleluia*; and the *Ite, missa est* was not read in the Mass. The ordinary vestments also, except when the day coincided with the Sunday after Christmas, were of purple.

"The mock of St. Nicholas," "the somewhat mythical dignity of the Boy Bishop," is, I cannot help thinking, entitled to rather more dispassionate consideration than it has hitherto received. Lacking, as it undoubtedly was, in some essentials that serve to render an office dignified, it yet possessed features of importance that could not but tend, if properly estimated, to dignify the sacred calling of the cathedral chorister, who has in the past been cruelly wronged. The Church, wisely or unwisely, instituted the office of Boy Bishop, attaching to the position many marks of honour. In her service books the special ceremony has a place, and is invested with solemn rites that serve to remind us of the fact that the religious education of the young is no new thing, neither is the interest minimised or unsustained so far as the young are themselves concerned.[1] The Reformed Service book, beyond a solitary collect for the use of the Church at large, gave us nothing in its place, leaving us to our

[1] "A Service and Solemnity of Children," I have seen it somewhere described; and the day "the children's holy day."

own desires to fashion, as best we may or can, an occasional service for children.

Strype remarks in favour of the custom, that "it gave a spirit to the children," and the hope of attaining at one time or another the real mitre made them read their books. It may be of interest to say that several of the Popes were choristers: Wulstan, the singing-boy of Peterborough Cathedral, became Bishop of Worcester; Esta, a Durham chorister, was afterwards Bishop of Durham; Nicholson and Frampton, Bishops of Gloucester, were choristers at Oxford; and others might be mentioned. But all these were men of old time.

Among other eminent personages we may mention Prene, Dean of Salisbury (chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford); a good poet, and skilled in the theory and practice of music; Yeldart, the second President of Trinity College, Oxford, who was a Durham chorister, and is known to have assisted Sir Thomas Pope in drafting the statutes that govern the College. The names of William Camden, chorister at Oxford, and Elias Ashmole, the latter a chorister of Lichfield (described by Anthony Wood as "the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England," and the intimate friend of Sir William Dugdale, whose daughter he married), ought to have a special interest for antiquaries. Art (not to include music, which has furnished, as might be expected, hosts of men eminent in the profession) is represented by Sir Augustus Calcott (the brother of Dr. Calcott, the musician), a chorister in Westminster Abbey.

It would be interesting to learn how far, and in what direction, boys who had been "bishops" attained to eminence in after-life. "One who has sung long in the cathedral church, and is comely in character and person,"[1] and subsequently elected to the dignity of a Boy Bishop, would possess no inconsiderable power, which, rightly governed, would be of great service to the Church. Equally pleased should we be to possess fuller information regarding the custom as observed in different

[1] *Salisbury Statutes.* The York Acts required that he should be *competenter corpore formosus.*

localities. A considerable body of literature bearing on the Boy Bishop must have perished. William de Tolleshunte, Almoner of St. Paul's, bequeathed to that church in 1329 "all the quires of sermons of the feasts of the Holy Innocents, which the Boy Bishops were wont to preach." Nothing can be more convincing as to the esteem in which the ceremony and the sermons were alike held, and the long continuance in England of the custom. That Colet, "a friend to the purity of religion," and a lover of children, should have countenanced the Boy Bishop observance to the extent he did, will always, to my mind (Warton's expression of surprise notwithstanding), furnish adequate recommendation of a much-abused—because little appreciated and less understood—adjunct to the religious life and social requirements of the age.

It must not be forgotten that the very relaxations of former days were closely associated with the exercise of religion, and I am inclined to regard this upon the whole as a satisfactory feature. Recreation, however, should never be allowed to run to such an excess as to violate those principles which may be said to govern the religious life; and if—as we have seen in regard to the Boy Bishop ceremonies—in process of time irregularities spring up, they cannot be too promptly suppressed. But the tendency in this direction is very frequently to destroy altogether an influence which may possess for all time—if properly safeguarded—under life's ever-varying changes, no inconsiderable degree of power in the direction of maintaining a course that must approve itself, if merely viewed as a means to an end.

Neither can I forbear advocating in this connection the advancement of the Cathedral chorister to a position which is emphasized in the ordinance of the Boy Bishop: a position which of right he ought to occupy so long as the Cathedral system remains established. It is quite exceptional to find a Cathedral chorister (certainly owing to any effort on the part of the Church, which is singularly neglectful of this part at least of its charge, and seems studiously to avoid the discovery of a boy's vocation) advanced to the higher ministry, for which his early life

has more or less undoubtedly qualified him. A brief tenure of the Episcopal office is now out of the reach of the Cathedral chorister, and we desire no restoration of the temporary dignity; but it is not too much to require that the governing body of a Cathedral should religiously adhere to the "spirit" at least of the ancient Statutes, the "letter" of which, in respect of the "inferior members," has been sadly blotted. It is to be regretted that the main lesson conveyed by the Boy Bishop ceremony is largely unrecognised. The long, sad minor of the Cathedral chorister's cry, in the subdued tone that becomes his position, is still to be heard in strange contrast with the joyous note that marked the time when the Boy Bishop custom was honoured in the observance.

The following extract from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough (30th August, 1559) will suffice to show the intention to enforce a sustained interest in the choristers :—

"xix. Item.—You shall find and sustaine such Choristers as have served in the Church and have the voyces changed, or that doe serve at some lower Grammar School, and give them yerely iij*lb.* vis. viij*d.* out of the Common Landes for the space of five yeares."—*Kennett's MS.*, 48 *sq.*

A hundred years later a considerate interest is apparent in the following from Dean Duport's *Act Book*, 1666 :—

"If a Quirister be fit for a Clerk's Place, he shall have it before any other."

But then, so far as "inferior members" are concerned, Capitular ordering is not fashioned after the Median and Persian code!

The Deans and Chapters of our Cathedral churches have allowed gross deviations from the expressed purpose of the founders. The infraction of the Statutes by which the Cathedrals ought to be governed is altogether indefensible. It is, of course, to be expected that anomalies and inconveniences will arise in the endeavour to carry into practice the regulations framed originally for a past period; but the baneful tendency of diverting streams consecrated by pious founders so as directly to benefit the dignitaries of the Church, and consequently to cause

grievances of a most aggravated kind to the inferior members, ought not to be allowed to form any part of such anomalies, which, perhaps more than anything else, have been the means, both directly and indirectly, of bringing the Cathedral establishment into disrepute. Those who have laboured in the service of the Church ought not, as it has too frequently happened,[1] to be systematically passed over, *e.g.*, in the bestowal of vacant Cathedral benefices in favour of nominees of individual members of the Chapter, not infrequently the selection of an outsider friend. The Cathedral chorister receives scant reward and very slender attention, and when the service ceases on failure of the voice, he is calmly snuffed out and forgotten. Robert Testwood, a chorister of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, whose name is recorded in *Foxe* as one of the earliest to lay down his life for the principles of the English Reformation, does not stand alone in the annals of martyrdom. *Martyrum candidatus exercitus* claims its own, at sundry times and in divers manners.

[1] *Vide* the late Rev. Dr. J. E. Cox's "Clerical Restlessness" in *Bell's Life* and elsewhere.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

At the conclusion of note 2, p. 48, of Part I of this volume, add :— "The upper, second and first, or lower steps or forms in the Cathedral are the rows of stalls or seats respectively, where the Clergy and boys sat according to their rank.

P. 45.—After the words, "they reign with God and," *insert* "the Lamb, and the Lamb of."

In Bp. Grandisson's *Ordinale*, at this point, the Exeter Use (1337) has the *Gloria*, and the Boy Bishop censes the great cross near the choir door.

After the words, "Let us rejoice in the Lord," *insert* "and rejoice ye righteous" (*ex exultate iusti*), followed by 'R,' and "be glad all ye that are true of heart" (*et gloriamini omnes recti corde*).

In the first known edition of the Sarum *Processional*, printed by Morin at Rouen, in 1508, appears the rubric following :—

> "*In die Sanctorum Innocentium ad Vesperas post memoriam de Sancto Johanne accipiat cruciferarius baculum Episcopi puerorum ad cantet antiphonam Princeps ecclesiæ sicut ad primas Vesperas. Similiter Episcopus puerorum benedicat populum supradicto modo, et sic compleatur servitium hujus diei.*"

In the procession to the altar, incense was used ; lighted candles at Vespers on the Feast of the Nativity, and three days after at Vespers.

LACOCK CHURCH.[1]

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.

OF the Norman church which formerly existed at Lacock not a stone remains *in situ*, but during works of reconstruction many Norman as well as later fragments, used as old material, have been found in the walls. The church is cruciform and, up till 1861, the north transept was, in the main, an unaltered work of the fourteenth century of good proportions. There is no older work remaining in the church. The lower part of the western tower is of the fourteenth century, but the tower has been very much altered in the fifteenth century and the parapet and spire do not appear to have been erected before the sixteenth century. To the tower is attached a stone-vaulted western porch, of late date, erected by one of the Baynard family, of Lackham, as an armorial shield in the vaulting shows.

The Lady Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, is a very fine work of the fifteenth century. It has stone vaulting, with pendants, which though not exactly a fan-vault approximates very nearly to it.

The north aisle of the nave is also of the fifteenth century and probably of much the same date as the Lady

[1] The reader is referred to a Paper by the present writer (*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 342, June, 1896) for a full description of the church, to that date. The present Paper is intended to put on record some additional unpublished facts and to correct some inaccuracies in the Report of the Visit of the Association (*Journal*, vol. xi, p. 67); for instance, Robert of Gloucester is mentioned in an old record as Rector of Lacock, at a date long before the foundation of the Abbey, but he had nothing whatever to do with the *erection* of the parish church, as stated in the *Journal*.

Chapel. There is a strong analogy between them. This aisle is earlier than the north nave-arcade and was originally vaulted. Internally, the remains of the springers of the vault may be seen against the north wall, and the span of the vault may be seen by the remains of the wall-rib of the vaulting, over the west window. This shows that the position of the springers, on the south side, was considerably too much to the north for the position of the present nave-arcade and that, when the vaulting was erected, an older and thicker north nave-arcade, probably Norman, must have been standing. When the present arcade was erected, all intention of retaining vaulting, in the aisle had been abandoned, as the spandrils of the arcade are panelled on both sides. The aisle has evidently lost a great deal of its internal effect by the destruction of its vaulting. The north and south nave-arcades are probably not exactly of the same date, as there is a difference in the caps of the shafts. The south arcade has panelled spandrils, on the north side only, but the south aisle has never had any other than a wooden roof, of which traces remain. The nave has a high clerestory and transept-arches rising to the full height of the clerestory. The roof is of the wagon type, boarded in modern times between its principal timbers throughout, but originally in its eastern panels only. There have been originally three tie-beams, one in the centre and one at each end, but the easternmost tie-beam has been cut away for the insertion of a window, probably in the time of Henry VII. The present chancel-arch, which is of the same height as the transept-arches and of very similar character—late Perpendicular—is later than the window just mentioned and cuts up into it. The probability is that the window originally had a horizontal sill and was erected when an earlier and lower chancel-arch was standing. Externally, an open parapet, in the centre of which the base of a niche remains, follows the line of the window-arch. The niche itself was no doubt removed to lighten the weight, for the insertion of the chancel-arch evidently caused a failure of the building and the arch itself is patched with a stone on which no moulding has ever been worked. The

window-arch is tied, at the springing, by an iron rod to counteract the same failure.

The builders of the Perpendicular transept-arches had contemplated rebuilding the transepts, which were too low for their roofs to clear the arches, which therefore remained blocked with lath and plaster above the springing. In 1861, some promoters of the then "Restoration" insisted on opening these arches, against, I believe, the original intention of the architect. The operation was accomplished in a clumsy manner by raising the walls of the transepts in a manner injurious to the building and destructive to its proportions. This has produced a state of things calling for rectification and it may be well to put on record here the fact that plans for such rectification have been prepared, but there seems to be little prospect of the necessary money being obtainable for some time to come.

The west wall of the south transept is, in the main, old, but the only ancient feature *visible* is the arch between the transept and the south nave-aisle. Its south jamb is untouched late fourteenth-century work and the arch-stones have simply been reset. It seems evident that the south and east walls of this transept have been rebuilt, probably rather earlier than 1800. The south window was inserted since 1861. It is a copy of the fourteenth-century north window in the north transept and replaced a window of no great interest.

The builders of the south nave-arcade certainly did not proceed very carefully, as they ventured to support, on a new pillar of slight section, not only the great transept-arch and the smaller arch of the arcade, but also the older arch between the transept and the aisle, which they carried on a corbel, having removed its north jamb. This can only have been intended as a temporary expedient, but it was a very risky one and the northward thrust must very soon have pushed out their new work. The walling, added in 1861, made the matter worse and it became necessary, in 1875, to rebuild the pier, half the great transept-arch, half the arch of the nave-arcade and to reset the older arch, between the transept and the aisle. The old pillar proved to have a very bad

foundation. As it was an object to us, though not to the original builders of the Perpendicular work, to retain the older arch permanently, we made a stronger pier combining the sections of the slighter pier and the lost jamb of the older arch. This has proved a success, both structurally and artistically.

In the floor of the south transept is a good brass, in a Purbeck marble slab, to Robert Baynard, Esq., lord of the manor of Lackham, and his wife Elizabeth Ludlow, 1501. The owners of Lackham long used a vault, under this transept, as a place of burial.

The date of the Lady Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, appears to be fixed by the occurrence of the arms of Robert Nevill, Bishop of Salisbury, 1427-37 (on a saltire, two annulets interlaced in fess), beneath a niche, over its east window externally. The saltire cannot be made out from below and, even in Dingley's time, had the appearance of a bend. One of the north windows was removed when the fine monument to Sir William Sharington was erected. The other was blocked by a monument erected to Sir John Talbot, but the monument has lately been moved and the window reopened. It was found to be in a good state of preservation.

The probability is that the design for Sir W. Sharington's monument was prepared in his lifetime. It was a not uncommon practice for a man to direct, in his will, that his monument should be made according to a design, prepared and signed with his hand. He died in 1553. The monument was erected in 1566. The character of the design is of the earlier date. The execution is not equal to Sharington's own work, particularly as regards the carving of the scorpion badges, which are very coarse and badly proportioned, whereas those at the Abbey are finely executed. When this monument was erected the west arch of the Lady Chapel, opening from the north transept, was walled up and in the wall was inserted a Renaissance doorway, similar to those at the Abbey but having a stone face to each side. The stops to the chamfers of the jambs of this doorway, which though removed still exists, differ from those of Edward VI.'s time and have an Elizabethan character. The arch was unblocked, about 1867, and the

doorway taken down without much care, but on an addition being made to the National Schools shortly afterwards, it was re-erected in that building, but slightly increased in height as being originally too low for modern convenience. The arch was found to have been much mutilated in the walling-up, but two archæological points came to light on the unblocking. It appeared that, shortly after the building of the arch, a low stone screen had been erected across it, from the absence of any painting in that part. Above this the original painting was found, much more delicate than that now seen throughout the chapel which is a rough imitation of the original. The date of this repainting is later than 1714, as it was not found behind Sir John Talbot's monument. I should think about 1740 would be a probable date. The chapel was "repaired" in 1777, but, on consideration, I do not think they had feeling enough, at that date, for such ornate decoration to have done the repainting then.

The monument of Sir William Sharington has suffered much from this coarse late painting. In Dingley's time (1684) the tinctures of the coats-of-arms were correct. Now they are falsified. There are three shields in the recess of the monument: on the west side, Sharington with quarterings, impaling Bourchier with quarterings, and a bendlet sinister; in the centre, under the soffit of the arch, Sharington, etc., impaling Walsingham quartering Writle; on the east side, Sharington, etc., impaling Farington.

The first wife of Sir William Sharington was Ursula, natural daughter of John Bourchier, Lord Berners.

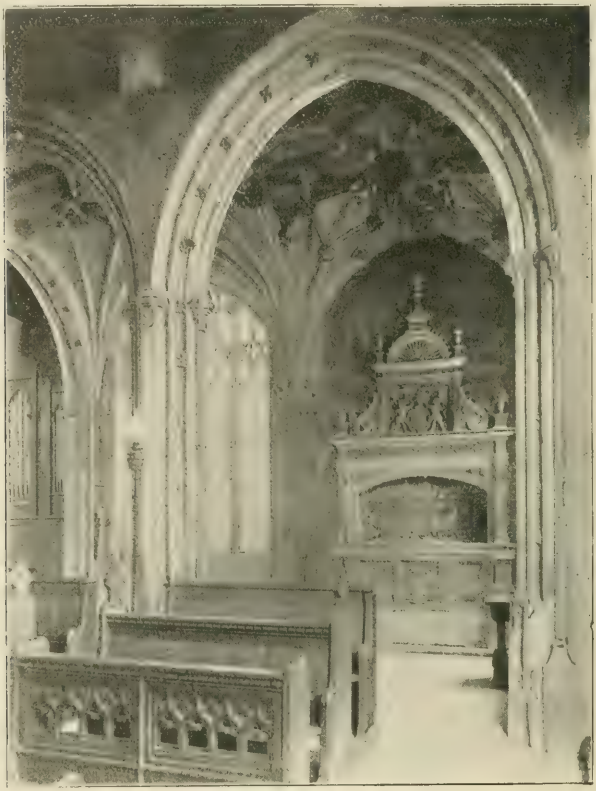
His second wife was Elyanor, daughter of William Walsingham and sister of Sir Francis Walsingham.

His third wife was Grace, daughter of — Farington, of Farington in Devonshire and widow of Robert Paget, Alderman of London.

In the head of the monument is the shield of Sharington, quarterly, viz., 1st and 4th, Sharington; 2nd, Swathing (*azure*, a bend *argent*)—this coat has generally been attributed erroneously to Lavall; 3rd, Fransham.

A good deal of the original glass remains in the head

of the east window of the Lady Chapel. The floor of the chapel appears to have been originally rather lower than the floor of the chancel. The masonry of the western arch is built against the remains of a panelled opening in the north pier of the chancel-arch. This was of considerable height and may have been for processional



Lacock Church: Lady Chapel and Sir W. Sharington's Monument, from Chancel.

purposes. It was utilised for making a hagioscope, when the chapel was built. This hagioscope has now been built up, for strength, as this was one of the weakest points in the church. On the north side of the arch is a double hagioscope, for viewing the high altar and the altar at the east end of the chapel.

The chancel, which was rebuilt in 1777, with the

exception of that part of the north wall where the Lady Chapel abuts and a very small portion of the west end of the south wall, has lately been remodelled, by subscription, as a memorial to William Henry Fox Talbot (born 11th February, 1800, died 17th September, 1877), from the designs of Harold Brakspear, Esq., F.S.A., Architect. A memorial inscription, at the back of the sedilia, records the fact.

The chancel was reopened, 12th June, 1903. By this work the internal effect of the church has been greatly improved, as the chancel was formerly bald in the extreme and had a comparatively low plaster ceiling. The present oak roof is new.

During the progress of the work, the west jamb of the inner arch of a rather late fourteenth-century window and part of the arch were found *in situ*, in the south wall of the chancel, close to the chancel-arch. From its position it was probably originally a low side window. In the fifteenth century the lower part of the jamb had been cut back and a doorway inserted, leading obliquely to the south transept. We only cleared the head of the doorway, but it appeared to be distinctly a door and not a hagioscope. It may, perhaps, have been used for some processional purpose. There should be in my possession a ground plan of the church, made in the eighteenth century, which I remember well but it seems to be lost or mislaid, which showed a slanting projection, at the south-west corner of the chancel and open to the latter, which was probably in connection with this door. We left one stone of the window-arch exposed to view, but the rest we were obliged to cover up again. A great number of stones of these fourteenth-century windows were found, re-used as old material, in the walls, showing that, previous to 1777, more than one of these fourteenth-century windows must have been standing and must have been then pulled down.

It was at first intended to re-erect the monument of Sir John Talbot (died 1714), which had blocked the north window of the Lady Chapel, *in its entirety*, against the north wall of the chancel, but it becoming apparent that it would be a considerable obstruction, that it was

doubtful whether it would look well, and taking into consideration the fact that the outer and central portions of the monument, though all erected at the same time, did not harmonise, I determined to re-erect in that position the central part only, which is complete in itself, and to re-erect the outer part—two Corinthian pillars supporting a carved pediment—against the south wall of the churchyard, facing north. This is, of course, a great liberty to take with a monument and it was done against the protest of the architect, but the fact is that the two portions look a great deal better, now that they are separated, than they ever did when combined.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1905.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Miss Mason, The Grange, Malvern.
Miss Sadleir, 17, De Vere Gardens, S.W.
Miss Grace Tong, B.A.Lond., Cliff House, Lincoln.
Miss M. A. Williams, 16, Alma Road, Clifton, Bristol.
William Bruce, Esq., Breamore Lodge, Sundridge Avenue, Bromley, Kent.
W. A. Cater, Esq., 40, Langdon Park Road, Highgate, N.
Alderman E. Harris, Abingdon, Berks.
Gordon E. P. Hills, Esq., 7, New Court, Lincoln's Inn.
Rev. Charles F. Kite, The Clergy House, Chislehurst
A. W. Oke, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.G.S., F.L.S., 8, Cumberland Place, Southampton.
G. H. Lindsay Renton, Esq., Cottingley, Kingston Hill.
E. G. Tooker, Esq., 222, Ladbroke Grove, W.

Mr. Emmanuel Green, F.S.A., read an interesting Paper on "The Roman Channel Fleet, with Notes on Clausentum and the Isle of Ictis," which will be published in a subsequent part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Green traced the history of the Roman *Classis Britannica* from the time of the Emperor Claudius, through an existence of four hundred years—a history which has been hitherto overlooked—and drew attention to various inscriptions and other evidence, particularly to an inscription found at Boulogne, mentioning a trierarch who was contemporary with Claudius, and to the number of tiles and bricks which have been found on both sides of the Channel, bearing the

letters CL. BR. Mr. Green dealt at length with the revolt of Carausius, the success of which was due to his obtaining possession of the Channel Fleet, and with the recovery of Britain by Constantius Chlorus from Allectus, the murderer and successor of Carausius, whose base was Clausentum, close to the present Southampton, a place of great importance, strategically and commercially, as guarding the western end of the narrow seas, and forming an outlet for the trade in lead from the Mendip Hills. Mr. Green then dealt with the traditional accounts of the tin trade of Britain in Roman and pre-Roman times, giving the results of an exhaustive examination of the classical writers who mention the subject, and arriving at the conclusion that all their statements really refer to the tin-mining carried on by the Romans in the west of Spain and the adjacent islands, the mistake being due to the fact that the ancient geographers placed the south-west corner of Britain in close proximity to the coast of Spain. There is no trace of tin having been worked in Cornwall until after the date of the *Domesday* Survey. Mr. Green exhibited engravings of a curiously-shaped block of metal, found in Falmouth Harbour, which has long been supposed to be an ancient ingot of tin, cast in that form for convenience of transport, and demonstrated that it was, in fact, a piece of shaped ballast for a sailing-boat. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Compton, Mr. Gould, Mr. Forster, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20TH, 1905.

R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR,

The following Member was duly elected ;—

The Cornell University Library, U.S.A.

The Chairman (by kindness of Canon A. H. Prior, the Vicar of Mansfield, Notts.), exhibited a photograph of Letters Patent of Philip and Mary, relating to a former endowment of Mansfield Church—an interesting specimen of the engrossing of the sixteenth century. Early in the reign of Henry VIII, Dame Cecily Flogan left certain tenements in Mansfield to her executors, upon trust to maintain a chantry priest in Mansfield Church for ninety-nine years, and instructed them to purchase the King's licence to amortise the property and found a chantry in perpetuity. Under the Statute of Edward VI for the suppression of chantries, the property came into the hands of the Crown, and Mary, by these Letters Patent, re-granted it to the Vicar

and Churchwardens of Mansfield, whom by the same Letters she created a corporation. Unfortunately for the benefice, it was subsequently held that the confiscation and re-grant covered only the term of ninety-nine years, and the right heirs of Dame Cecily Flogan were successful in an action to recover the reversion.

Mr. C. H. Compton, Vice-President, read a Paper on "Arbroath Abbey," the remains of which the Board of Works has undertaken to preserve, as announced in this *Journal* (vol. x, p. 245). Arbroath Abbey, dedicated to St. Thomas-à-Becket, was founded by William the Lion in 1178, and occupied by Tyronensian monks, brought thither from Kelso. Mr. Compton gave interesting statistics as to the church and monastic buildings, and a full history of the somewhat troubled fortunes of the House, which held the advowson of Haltwhistle Church in Northumberland, and was therefore in a difficult position during the period when Edward I was attempting to assert his claim to feudal supremacy over Scotland. The Abbey also suffered from the feuds of the leading Scottish families of the district. The notorious Cardinal Beaton was at one time its Abbot, and it was finally erected into a temporal lordship in 1541. An interesting discussion followed.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Clyde Mystery: A Study in Forgeries and Folk-Lore. By ANDREW LANG (Glasgow), 1905.—Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley has contributed to this *Journal* so many pages relating to the peculiar objects discovered in the mud of the Clyde at Dumbuck and Langbank, that an apology for occupying more space on the subject would be necessary, had not some of our associates followed with much interest the controversy which arose as to the *bona fides*, or otherwise, of the "finds." Dr. Robert Munro, the recognised authority on matters pertaining to crannogs, author of *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* (1890), vigorously attacked the views of those who considered the "finds" at Dumbuck of archæological value; whilst Dr. Astley, with equal energy, maintained the authenticity of the objects, regarding them as valuable archæological evidence, and as the works of men who were in a Neolithic state of culture.

We have no intention to re-open the discussion, but think it right to call attention to Dr. Andrew Lang's book, as it, with reservations, generally favours the views which have been expressed by Dr. Astley.

The author makes it clear that he has nothing to do with the statements as to the "carved oyster-shell," which he regards as a limpet-shell, and anything but archaic; or with the description in these pages of an object as being a "churinga"; but (differing from Dr. Munro) considers that parallelism exists between the objects from the Clyde and those found in Portugal (described in this *Journal*, vol. x).

It is needless to add that, being written by Dr. Lang, this little volume is enjoyable, whether or no the reader be of the archæological world; but to us the main point is that the author agrees with those members of the British Archæological Association who, having handled and examined the relics, retain an open mind as to the archæological value and genuineness of some of those which were exhibited.

If we hazard an opinion, it is that while most of the "finds" are genuine antiques, some joker has inserted various objects, decorated

in the nineteenth century. Of this joker's proceedings, Mr. W. A. Donnelly, who was responsible for the objects found at Dumbuck, was doubtless profoundly ignorant; and it need hardly be said that Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A.Scot., is above suspicion as to connivance with deception of any description.

As Dr. Lang says, even "the best authorities may view antiquities differently." Jupiter nods occasionally, and we are in entire sympathy with the words at the conclusion of the book: "We should not bluntly dismiss the mass of disputed objects as forgeries, but should rest in a balance of judgment, file the objects for reference, and await the result of future excavations."

When any of our Associates are in Edinburgh, they may care again to examine the mysterious enigmatic subjects of so much controversy. The objects repose in a case in the National Museum, and there, "as in the Morgue, lies awaiting explanation the *corpus delicti* of the Clyde Mystery."

With regret it must be added that since Dr. Andrew Lang's book appeared, Mr. W. A. Donnelly has passed away. The following notice of his death appeared in *The Athenæum*, January 6th, 1906:—

"We regret to notice the death of Mr. W. A. Donnelly, well known alike as an artist and antiquary. In the latter character he became intimately associated in the public mind with the discoveries of the much-discussed cup-and-ring markings at Auchentorlie, the Roman fort at Dumbuie, and the crannog at Dumbuck. As an artist, he had been for many years the Scottish representative of *The Illustrated London News*, and had executed several royal commissions for commemorative pictures of notable public events."

Recent Discoveries.—During the past year, an important work has been begun by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who are conducting excavations on the site of a Roman camp at Newstead, a little more than a mile to the east of Melrose. This camp occupies an excellent situation on the south side of the Tweed, and the line of the Dere Street can be traced to it across the Cheviots from High Rochester, in Redesdale (Bremenium), the *terminus a quo* of the first of the Antonine *itinera*. The excavations have revealed the existence of two camps occupying much the same site—a smaller and earlier fort, and a later extension. An altar, dedicated to Jupiter by a legionary soldier, has been unearthed, as well as a slab, probably sepulchral, mentioning the Twentieth Legion, and a fragment bearing the tantalising letters VR, which may possibly be part of an inscription set up under Lollius Urbicus, who was Governor of Britain under Antoninus Pius, invaded

Caledonia, and constructed the Antonine Wall between the Forth and Clyde.

While we are dealing with this subject, it will be interesting to those who took part in the Newcastle Congress and visited The Chesters (*Cilurnum*), to hear that a well has been discovered in the north-west quarter of the forum at that place. The well, which is about five feet in diameter and lined with fine masonry, showed signs of having been purposely blocked up. It has been partially cleared, but the flow of water prevented a complete examination. Another well, of smaller diameter, has been discovered on the lawn of the mansion, to the west of the fort; but, here again, the abundance of the water supply put an end to exploration.

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NOTE

This Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archæologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all Transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the Transactions from the beginning of archæological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now going through the press.

Societies will greatly oblige by communicating any omissions or suggestions to the editor, c/o Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, Haymarket, London.

Single copies of the yearly Index from 1891 may be obtained. Many of the Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries take a sufficient number of copies of the yearly Index to issue with their Transactions to each of their members. The more this plan is extended the less will be the cost of the Index to each society.

The subscription list for the complete Index up to 1890 is still open, and intending subscribers should apply at once to Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co.

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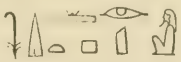
WAINWRIGHT (G. A.). The formula  in the light of mythology. *Bibl. Arch. Soc. xxvi.* 101–104.

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Genealogy, biography and family history : *Adamson, Andrews, Arnold, Attree, Auden, Axon, Aylmer, Boutflower, Briscoe, Brown, Bulkeley-Owen, Burtchaell, Burton, Bush, Carr, Cheney, Clarkson, Cooke, Cooper, Dimock, Dunsford, Eginton, Ellis, Fellows, FitzGerald, Fletcher, Foulkes, Garstin, Green, Guiseppi, Hall, Hinds, Hodgson, Hughes, Humphreys, Johnston, Johnston (P. M.), Kendrick, Langrishe, Lawrance, Lethbridge, Long, Mackay, Macnamara, Massey, Maurice, Minet, Musters, Oglesby, O'Leary, Palmer, Parker, Round, Russell, Sanders, "signet bill," Standish, Staunton, Thomas, Thompson, Tingey, Verney, Ward, White-Thompson, Williams, Willis-Bund, Wood, Wrottesley, Yeatman.*
Germany : *Hilton.*
Glamorganshire : *See* "Llandough," "Newton Nottage."
Glasgow : *Mitchell, Neilson, Taylor.*
Glass (ancient) : *Barber.*
Glass (coloured) : *Aitchison.*
Glastonbury : *Hope.*
Glastonbury lake village : *Bulleid.*
Glencorse : *Reid.*
Gloucester : *Bazeley, Leigh, Taylor.*
Gloucestershire : *Smith, Were. See* "Brockworth," "Bristol," "Cirencester," "Gloucester," "Cold Ashton," "Painswick," "St. Mary of South Gate," "Tibberton," "Wansdyke."
Goedendag : *Clephan.*

Gonalston : *Baylay.*
Goosey : *Stevenson.*
Gosforth : *Parker.*
Gotham : *Stapleton.*
Grail, the Holy : *Wardle.*
Grange Con : *Drury.*
Graves : *Hughes.*
Great Dunmow : *Gould.*
Greatham : *Reynolds.*
Greek antiquities : *Bosanquet, Cronin, Daniel, Dawkins, Edgar, Evans, Gardiner, Gardner, Hall, Harrison, Hasluck, Hogarth, Homolle, McDowall, Marshall, Munro, Murray, Oppé, Ramsay, Sewell, Waldstein, Worsfold, Wroth.*
Gresford : *Palmer.*
Guildford Castle : *Bax.*
Guildown and the Pilgrim's Way : *Malden.*
Gunnerton : *Hornby.*
Gunpowder Plot : *Humphreys.*

Hafod Lwyfog : *Hughes.*
Halford, Richard, signet bill conferring baronetcy upon : *signet bill.*
Hallsands and Start Bay : *Worth.*
Hampshire : *See* "Barton Stacey," "Cheriton," "Earlstown," "Romsey," "Silchester," "Whitchurch."
Hampstead : *Newton.*
Harbottle : *Dixon.*
Hardwick Hall : *Brodhurst.*
Harehope : *Holmes.*
Harmondsworth : *Taylor.*
Harwich : *Round.*
Hats and Caps, College : *Clark.*
Haughley Park : *Dimock.*
Haverfordwest : *Phillips.*
Hawarden : *Whittaker.*
Hayton : *Hawkesbury.*
Hedsor : *Boston.*
Heighington : *Hodgson.*
Helmingham : *Roundell.*
Henry III. : *Turner.*
Henry VII. : *Gairdner.*
Hepple Woodhouses : *Dixon.*
Heraldry : *B., Bax, Carr, Ellis, Frere, Green, Greenfield, Landon, Latimer, Mackay, Shickle, Were.*
Hereford : *Leigh.*
Herefordshire : *See* "Abbey Dore."
Hertfordshire : *Wingrave. See* "Anstey," "Ashwell," "Chesthunt," "Eastwick," "Hertingfordbury," "Much Hadham," "St. Albans," "Theobalds," "Tewin," "Verulam," "Widford."
Hertingfordbury : *Andrews.*
Hexham : *Ogle.*
Hobkirk : *Curle.*
Holderness : *Brown.*
Holme Pierrepont : *Gill.*
Horns : *Bridge.*
Horse trappings : *Read.*
Hospitals : *Reynolds, Weyman.*
Hotwells (Bristol) : *Griffiths.*
Houses, historic : *Baker, Blathwayt, Brodhurst, Brown, Burton, Calverley, Chancellor, Clark-Maxwell, Collingwood, Currey, Curwen, Dimock, Dixon, Dryden, Fellows, FitzGerald, Flood, Graham, Lugton, Medland, Mitchell-Withers, Money, Newton, Roundell, Rye, Wetherall.*
Housesteads : *Bosanquet.*
Hoveringham : *Baylay.*
Huggate : *Yorkshire.*
Hungerford : *Ditchfield.*
Hurley : *Wethered.*

Ibstone : *Forsyth.*
Idbury : *Marshall.*
Inchiquin : *Macnamara.*
Iniscathay : *Flood.*
Inns : *Kitton.*
Inquisitions : *Blagg, Gay.*
Inscriptions : *Orpen, Sayce, Southam, Wainwright.*
  Greek : *Sayce.*
  Ogham : *Anderson, Iago, Macalister.*
  Palmyrene : *Hodgkin.*
  Phœnician : *See* "Sumatra."
  Rock : *Prowse.*
Inventories, deeds, etc. : *Bolingbroke, Drinkwater, Fowler, Marshall, Taylor, Wadsworth, Welford, Wrottesley, Yorkshire.*
Ipswich : *Layard.*
Ireland : *Fahey, FitzGerald, Flood, Kelly, Knox, Mayo, Moore, Orpen, O'Reilly, Wall, Westropp, Wood. See* "Antrim," "Ardee Castle Guard," "Baginbun," "Barnaglitty," "Brize Castle," "Cashel," "Clare," "Clonegal,"

"Clonliffe," "Clontygora," "Cork," "Enniscorthy," "Fethard," "Galway," "Grange Con," "Inchiquin," "Iniscathay," "Kilbannon," "Kilcomenty," "Kilkenny," "Kilmacduagh," "Knappaghmanagh," "Knockmoy," "Kyleane," "Limerick," "Lismore," "Loughrea," "Louth," "Meath," "Monaghan," "Monasterevin," "Moneydig," "Portnahinch," "Tipperary," "Tuam," "Windgates," "Youghal."
Ireland, Judges of : *Ball, Kelly.*
Iron : *Aitchison.*
Irthlingborough : *Brown.*

Judiciary : *Ball, Kelly, Morris, Reichel.*
Juxon : *B., Green.*

Kendal : *Collingwood.*
Kenninghall : *Howlett, Taylor.*
Kent : *Cheney, Rhodes, Vincent.* *See* "Chislehurst," "Eltham."
Kenton : *Bingham.*
Kenwaldi's castle : *Gray.*
Kerry Straw Cloak : *O'Reilly.*
Keynsham : *Shickle.*
Kieff : *Meakin.*
Kilbannon : *Kelly.*
Kilcomenty : *Berry.*
Kildare : *O'Grady, Omurethi.*
Kilkenny : *Langrishe.*
Killineer : *Morris.*
Kilmacduagh : *Cochrane, Fahey.*
Kilnasaggart stone : *Morris.*
Kiltoola, co. Clare : *Westropp.*
King's board : *Medland.*
Kirkoswald : *Thornley.*
Knappaghmanagh : *Knox.*
Knockmoy : *Cochrane, Glynn.*
Kyleane : *Stacpoole.*

Lace : *Lee.*
Lacock : *Clark-Maxwell, Talbot.*
Lambourn : *Footman.*
Lammerside : *Cowper.*
Lancashire : *Hollins, Taylor.* *See* "Bury," "Castle Arnaby," "Furness," "Low Furness," "Millom," "Newchurch," "Northscall."
Land Buyers' Society : *Rye.*
Land tenure : *Maclean, Phear.*
Langbank pile dwelling : *Bruce, Bryce.*
Lansdown : *Shickle, Winwood.*
Laughton-en-la-Morthen : *Rigby.*
Law : *Owen, Reichel.*
Laxton : *Collinson, Stevenson.*
Lehinck : *Parkinson.*
Leicestershire. *See* "Belvoir."
Letters patent : *Durham.*
Levally Dolmen, co. Galway : *Westropp.*
Lewis, island of : *Mackenzie.*
Lichfield : *Scott.*
Lighthouses : *Carr.*
Limerick : *M'Enery.* *See* "Old Abbey," "Askeaton."
Lincoln : *Massingberd.*
Lincolnshire : *Quinn, Sutton.* *See* "Covenham," "Winterton."
Lingfield : *Johnston.*
Lismore cathedral : *Garstin.*
Littlecote : *Money.*
Llandough : *Allen.*
Llangybi : *Williams.*
Loch Lomond : *Brydall.*
London : *Choate, Christie, Darby, Davis, Ellis, Emslie, Fleming, Hinds, Jackson, Norman, Ordish, Pearce, Price, Sachs, Shore, Terry, Vincent.*
London topography : *Choate, Cockerell, Emslie, Jenkins, Lethaby, Norman, Ordish, Price, Shepherd, Spiers, Wheatley.*
Long Wittenham : *Hewett.*
Loughrea : *Coffey.*
Louth : *M'Carte, Murray, Quinn.*
Low Furness : *Gaythorpe.*
Low Hirst : *Tomlinson.*
Ludlow : *Weyman.*
Lye, John : *O'Leary.*

Maidenhead : *Ditchfield.*
Maiden-Lane : *Rhodes.*
Malton : *Graham.*
Manchester : *Roeder.*
Mansfield Woodhouse : *Fellows.*
Manuscripts : *Brown, Harrison, Parker, Standish, Tod, Wade-Evans, Waller, Whitley.*
Maps : *Roeder, Shickle, Wheatley.*
Marble : *Aitchison.*
Marchwiel : *Palmer.*
Marriage registers : *Cope, Treacher.*
Mary Magdalene battlefield : *Webb.*
Mary Queen of Scots : *Brodhurst.*

Meath : *Singleton, Westropp.*
Mediæval remains : *Norman, Waller.*
Merton : *Massey.*
Metals, precious : *Collins.*
Methley : *Lumb.*
Mexico : *Johnson.*
Middlesbrough : *Eastwood.*
Middlesex : *See* "Harmondsworth," "Swakeleys."
Middleton St. George : *Jackson.*
Midland revolt : *Gay.*
Midlothian : *Abercromby.*
Military life : *Oman.*
Militia, Northumberland : *Tomlinson.*
Millom : *Gaythorpe.*
Mills, watercourses, etc. : *Buckell.*
Milton : *March.*
Milton Abbey : *Pentin.*
Miracle plays : *Bridge.*
Monaghan : *Coffey.*
Monasterevin : *Drogheda, FitzGerald.*
Monasteries : *Clark, Murray, Paul, Peers.*
Moneydig : *Buick.*
Monmouthshire : *Ellis, Matthews. See* "Caerwent."
Montgomeryshire : *Jones.*
Monuments, effigies, etc. : *Allen, Anderson, Barber, Bazeley, Bower, Briscoe, Brydall, Buick, Cambridgeshire brasses, Carr, Curle, Fahey, Fellows, Field, FitzGerald, Fowler, Garnett, Garstin, Haverfield, Hope, Hughes, Knox, Langrishe, Lynn, March, Minns, Morris, Ogle, Price, Roper, Ross, Scott, Smith, Stapleton, Stevens, Wainwright, Wingrave, Worth. See* "Llandough."
Moorish designs : *Westermarck.*
Moredun : *Bryce, Coles.*
Motes, Irish : *Westropp.*
Mount Grace : *Brown.*
Moylgrove : *Wade-Evans.*
Much Hadham : *Gregory, Norman, Wetherall.*
Mullions : *Johnston.*
Municipal documents : *Bloom, Bowles, Brown, Guiseppi, Hornby, Howlett, Irvine, Laffan, Latimer, Morris, Pearman, Phillips, Round, Welford.*
Museums : *Balfour.*
Musical instruments : *Dale.*
Music, ecclesiastical : *Millar.*
Names, family : *Ogle.*
Naworth : *Hawkesbury.*
Nether Levens : *Curwen.*
Newbiggin : *Tomlinson.*
Newbury : *Money.*
Newcastle : *Arthur, Bates, Brown, Heslop, Rich, Robinson, Welford.*
Newchurch : *Hudson.*
Newgate prison : *Norman.*
Newton Abbot : *Fulford.*
Newton Nottage : *Halliday.*
Norfolk : *Ficklin, Stephenson, Tingey, (W.). See* "Cley," "Depwade," "Dilham," "Blakeney," "Kenninghall," "Syderstone."
Norsey Wood : *Branfill.*
Northamptonshire : *See* "Fotheringhay," "Irthlingborough."
North Luffenham : *Crowther-Beynon.*
North Maskham : *Bailey.*
Northscall : *Kendall.*
Northstoke : *Shickle.*
Northumberland : *Adamson, Bosanquet, Tomlinson, Welford. See* "Alnham," "Alwinton," "Apperley," "Carlisle," "Chesters," "Coupland," "Edlingham," "Gateshead," "Gosforth," "Gunnerton," "Harbottle," "Harehope," "Hepple Woodhouses," "Housesteads," "Low Hirst," "Newbiggin," "Seaton Delaval," "Trewhitt," "Tynemouth," "Whalton," "Woodhorn."
Norwich : *Howlett, Rye.*
Nottinghamshire : *Hawkesbury, Leadham, Mason, Robertson, Standish, Stevenson, Wilde, Wadsworth. See* "Beeston," "Blyth," "Bunny," "Car-Colston," "Costock," "East Bridgford," "East Leake," "Edwinstowe," "Gedling," "Gonalston," "Gotham," "Hardwick Hall," "Holme Pierrepont," "Hoveringham," "Laxton," "Mansfield Woodhouse," "North Maskham," "Ossington," "Retford," "Shelford," "Skegby," "Southwell," "Staunton," "Sturton-le-Steeple," "Syerston," "Teversall," "Thurgarton," "Welbeck," "Willoughby," "Wollaton," "Wysall."
Nuffield : *Pearman.*

Numismatics —
Antioch : *Macdonald.*
Babylonian : *Howorth.*
Baluchistan : *Rapson.*
Blaundus : *Baker-Penoyre.*
Carausius : *Evans.*
Edward VI. to Edward VII. : *Baldwin.*
Elizabethan : *Evans.*
Folly tickets : *Yeates.*
German Renaissance : *Cahn.*
Gold : *Blair.*
Greek : *Anderson, Wroth.*
Lydia : *Baker-Penoyre.*
Malwa : *King.*
Medals : *Fry, M'Carte, Mylne.*
Nuremberg : *Standish.*
Richard II. : *Walters.*
Roman : *Arnold, Grueber, Hill.*
Romano-British : *Stevens.*
Seals : *Hill, Meade-Waldo.*
Silver : *Rapson.*
Tokens : *Arnold, Standish.*
William I. and William II. : *Spicer.*

Okeover : *Wrottesley.*
Old Abbey : *Wardell, Westropp.*
Old Bradwell : *Harris.*
Ongar : *Waller.*
Orange, Prince of : *Ballard.*
Orations, Tarsian : *Callander.*
Oratory : *Ogle.*
Ordnance : *Clephan.*
Orkney : *Charleson.*
Ornaments, personal (*see also* "Bronze") : *Dalton, Goddard, Morris.*
Orton : *Whiteside.*
Oseney : *Salter.*
Osric of Gloucester : *Taylor.*
Ossington : *Briscoe.*
Oswestry : *Bulkeley-Owen.*
Oxford : *Hurst, Jones, Landon, Salter, Stapleton, Swan. See* "Brasses," "Roman remains."
Oxford, St. Mary's Entry : *Harrison.*
Oxfordshire : *Hone, Price. See* "Bicester," "Black Bourton," "Canon's Ashby," "Caversham," "Chalgrove," "Culham," "Edgehill," "Fawsley," "Fifield," "Fritwell," "Idbury," "Merton," "Nuffield," "Oxford," "Somerton," "Stonor," "Swalcliffe," "Thame," "Wardington," "Watlington, "Witney." "Woodstock."

Painswick : *Baddeley.*
Palaces : *Lane.*
Panels : *Heslop.*
Parish clerks : *Chanter.*
Parish registers : *Astley, Bradbrook, Dickinson, Leeds, Massey, Noble, Vane.*
Parishes and manors : *Bridgeman, Bush, Christie, Freeman, Hawkesbury, Kenyon, Kirby, Lupton, Money, Pearman, Salter, Saunders, Shickle, Standish, Taylor, Tomlinson, Watson-Taylor, Winder.*
Parthenon : *Murray.*
Partrishow : *Thomas.*
Pavia : *Ogle.*
Paxes : *Layard.*
Payne, Anthony : *Rollason.*
Peasmarsh : *Livett.*
Peculiars : *Whittaker.*
Pembrokeshire : *Clark, Phillips. See* "Ambleston," "Moylgrove."
Penreth : *Hall.*
Pen-Selwood : *Bates.*
Persian wars : *Munro.*
Perth (W. Australia) : *Hamilton.*
Perthshire : *Abercromby, Hutcheson.*
Peru, Pozo stone : *Harvey.*
Peru, rulers of : *Harvey.*
Pile dwellings : *Neilson.*
Place-names : *FitzGerald, Gould, Johnston, Knox, Lawrance, Lloyd, Malden, Mee, Renshaw, Waller.*
Plaster decoration : *Crace, Fyfe.*
Plate, antique : *Ellis, Moore.*
Plate, gold and silver : *Fallow, Jones.*
Playhouses, Old : *Ordish.*
Plemstall : *Johns.*
Pompei : *Offord.*
Portnahinch : *FitzGerald.*
Porton : *Rawlence.*
Portraits, etc. : *Hawkesbury, Laurance, McDowall.*
Portugal, a holiday in : *Watson.*
Pottery : *Abercromby, Wilde.*
Bronze age : *Abercromby.*
Roman : *Williams.*
Samian : *Gray, Williams.*
Pozo stone : *See* "Peru."
Prehistoric remains—
Animal bones : *Bryce.*

Prehistoric remains—
Beehive houses: *Mackenzie, Munro.*
Burial ground : *O'Grady, Rawlence.*
Cairns : *Bryce, Nichols.*
Circles (stone) : *Arnold-Bemrose, Baring-Gould, Coles, Dymond, Gray, Holmes, Hubbersty, Mackenzie.*
Cists : *Abercromby, Coles.*
Cromlechs : *Hall, Dixon.*
Earth-house : *Hutcheson.*
Earthworks : *Gould.*
Forts : *Christison.*
Human remains : *Bryce.*
Implements : *Gaythorpe, Gray, Hodgson, Mann, Sutcliffe. See* "Stainton-in-Furness."
Man : *Anwyl, Rawnsley, Vincent.*
Neolithic : *Coffey, Dale, Gaythorpe.*
Palæolithic : *Layard.*
Palisades : *Hodgson.*
Pile dwellings : *Bruce, Bulleid.*
Rio Grande : *Gann.*
Stonehenge : *Holmes, Maskelyne.*
Stone implements : *Callander, Coffey.*
Stones (standing) : *Christison.*
Sun-discs : *Smith.*
Tregaer Rounds : *Baring-Gould.*
Trough : *Holmes.*
Tumuli : *Abercromby, Bryce, Coffey, Hughes.*
Purslow : *Norman, Rollason.*

Quakers : *Taylor.*

Radstock : *McMurtrie.*
Ralegh, Sir Walter : *Brushfield, Jackson.*
Ransom : *Dillon.*
Rayne : *Round.*
Reading : *Bilson, Helyar, Hone, Stevens.*
Records, public : *See also* "Municipal documents" and "Muniments."
Berks : *Peachey.*
Devonshire : *Lega-Weekes.*
Dublin : *Moore.*
Hants : *Prideaux-Brune.*
Oxfordshire : *Pearman.*
Shropshire : *Drinkwater, Norton.*
Staffordshire : *Boyd.*
Surrey : *Bax.*
Welsh : *Hall.*
Yorkshire : *Yorkshire.*
Remembrancer, Dublin : *Moore.*
Repell ditches : *Gould.*
Retford : *Chamberlin, Hope.*
Rio Grande : *Gann.*
Roads (ancient) : *Barnes, Dawkins.*
Rochford Hall : *Chancellor.*
Roman remains—
Brough : *Dawkins, Garstang, Haverfield.*
Caerwent : *Ashby, Dawson, Fryer.*
Camps : *Bosanquet, Corder, Dawkins, Gray.*
Coffins : *Rich.*
Coins : *Arnold, Grueber, Stevens.*
Colours : *Fryer.*
Gold bars : *Hill.*
Inscriptions : *Haverfield, Heslop, Rich.*
London : *Norman.*
Objects : *Newstead.*
Oxford : *Oxford.*
Pavements : *Baylay, Browne.*
Radstock : *McMurtrie.*
Roads : *Bailey, Climenson, McMurtrie.*
Silchester : *Hope.*
Stanford-in-the-Vale : *Stevenson.*
Stones inscribed : *Haverfield, Heslop.*
Terra-cotta figure : *Murray.*
Tiles : *Lambert.*
Vessels : *Kenworthy.*
Villas : *Baddeley, Brakspear, Shickle.*
Wall : *Bosanquet, Terry.*
Wall-paintings : *Fryer.*
Weights : *May.*
Romsey : *Buckell.*
Ross-shire : *Anderson.*
Rotherham : *Hubbard.*
Round towers : *Cochrane, Kelly.*
Rumboldswhyke : *Arnold.*
Ruscombe : *Treacher.*
Rutland : *See* "North Luffenham."
Ruyton : *Kenyon.*

Saffron Walden : *Gould, Round.*
Saints, Lives of : *Baring-Gould, Cheney, Collier.*
St. Albans : *Bickley, Kitton, Knight.*
St. Francis of Assisi : *Rosedale.*
St. Mary-on-the-Hill : *Barber.*
St. Mary's Entry (Oxford) : *Harrison.*
St. Mary of South Gate : *Dancey.*
St. Piran's : *Peter.*
Salcombe Regis : *Newnham.*
Salisbury : *Savory.*

Saltmarshe : *Saltmarshe.*
Sandford and Woolston : *Kenyon.*
Santa-Cruz : *O'Ferrall.*
Schools : *Gaythorpe.*
Scotland : *Coles, Lyons, Whitelaw. See* "Aberdeenshire," "Argyleshire," "Bute (island of)," "Carsluith," "Clydeside," "Dundee," "Glasgow," "Hobkirk," "Langbank," "Lewis (island of)," "Loch Lomond," "Midlothian," "Moredun," "Perthshire," "Shetland."
Seaton Delaval : *Carr.*
Sempringham Order : *Edwards.*
Sheffield : *Gould, Leader, Winder.*
Shelford : *Standish.*
Sherborne : *Newnham, Wildman.*
Shetland : *Munro.*
Shillingston : *Shillingston.*
Shrewsbury : *Morris, Southam.*
Shropshire : *Drinkwater, Fletcher, Phillips, Vane, Walters. See* "Cressage," "Ellesmere," "Ludlow," "Oswestry," "Ruyton," "Sandford and Woolston," "Shrewsbury," "Wem," "Worfield."
Shulbred : *Calverley.*
Silchester : *Hope.*
Sizergh Fell : *Hughes.*
Skegby : *Blagg, Bonser.*
Small Down Camp : *Gray.*
Smuggler's Hold : *Robinson.*
Sockburn : *Eastwood.*
Somersetshire : *Allen, Shickle. See* "Bath," "Bruton," "Castle Orchard," "Forde," "Glastonbury," "Kenwaldi's Castle," "Keynsham," "Lansdown," "Northstoke," "Pen-Selwood," "Radstock," "Small Down Camp," "Staple Fitzpaine," "Stavordale Priory," "Taunton," "Walcot," "Woodlands House."
Somerton : *B., Somerton.*
Souterrains : *Quinn.*
Southampton : *Dale, Greenfield.*
Southcote : *Dormer.*
South Molton : *Saunders.*
South Weald : *Waller.*
Southwell : *Baylay, Standish.*
South Wraxall : *Goddard.*
Spain, churches in : *Hill.*
Staffordshire : *See* "Lichfield," "Okeover," "Weston-under-Lizard."
Staffordshire, public records of : *Boyd, Wrottesley.*
Stainton-in-Furness : *Stainton-in-Furness.*
Stamford : *See* "Bull running."
Stanford-in-the-Vale : *Stevenson.*
Stanley Grange : *Kerry.*
Staple Fitzpaine : *Gray.*
Statute of Labourers, 1349 : *Thompson.*
Staunton : *Staunton.*
Stavordale Priory : *Bates.*
Stifford : *Waller.*
Stockleigh English : *Erskine-Risk.*
Stocks and whipping-post : *Arnold, Whitley.*
Stonehenge : *Holmes, Maskelyne.*
Stones, native : *O'Ferrall.*
Stonor : *Pearman.*
Stratton : *Bevan.*
Sturton-le-Steeple : *Hawkesbury.*
Stury, Lady Alice : *Burton.*
Suffolk : *Redstone. See* "Haughley Park," "Helmingham," "Ipswich."
Sumatra : *Sumatra.*
Sunderland : *Ventress.*
Sun-discs : *Smith.*
Sunken-kirk : *Dymond.*
Surrey : *Bax, Malden, Stephenson. See* "Banstead," "Chelsham," "Guildford Castle," "Guildown," "Lingfield," "Thunderfield," "Virginia Water," "Walworth," "Witley."
Sussex : *Renshaw. See* "Angering," "Arundel," "Buxted Park," "Charlton," "Compton Place," "Eastbourne," "Peasmarsh," "Rumboldswhyke," "Shulbred," "Toddington."
Sutherlandshire : *Anderson.*
Sutton-on-Trent : *Robertson.*
Swakeleys : *Wheatley.*
Swalcliffe : *Keyser.*
Symbolism : *March.*
Syderstone : *Astley.*
Syerston : *Bailey.*

Tara brooch : *Morris.*
Taunton castle museum : *Gray.*
Tawton : *Lega-Weekes.*
Taxation : *Whitwell.*
Teign : *Somervail.*
Teignmouth : *Jordan, Lake.*
Tempera painting : *Lyons.*

Terra-cotta (coloured) : *Aitchison.*
Testa de Novill : *Hodgson.*
Teversall : *Standish.*
Tewin : *Nairne, Squires.*
Thame : *Ellis.*
Theobalds, royal palace of : *Lane.*
Thirlmere : *Collingwood.*
Thoroton, Dr. : *Blagg.*
Threshing sledges : *Mann.*
Thunderfield : *Malden.*
Thurgarton : *Standish.*
Tibberton : *Medland.*
Tibet : *Wright.*
Tipperary : *Singleton.*
Tiverton : *Dunsford.*
Toda prayer : *Rivers.*
Toddington : *Johnston.*
Totnes : *King, Windeatt.*
Touraine : *Corder.*
Towers, military wooden : *FitzGerald.*
Trades and industries : *Woodward.*
Treasure-trove : *Compton.*
Trewhiddle : *Smith.*
Trewhitt Hall : *Dixon.*
Tribalism, Welsh : *Lewis.*
Truro : *Whitley.*
Tuam : *Costello, Kelly.*
Turkey : *Mann.*
Twyford : *Baxter, Kenyon.*
Tynemouth : *Carr.*

Urns, cinerary : *Jones.*

Vanbrugh : *Oglesby.*
Vases : *Gardner.*
Verulam : *Page.*
Verus, Julius : *Haverfield.*
Vestries : *Newnham.*
Vikings : *Mayo.*
Village communities : *Bickley.*
Village life, old English : *Baxter, Siereking.*
Virginia water : *Hodder.*

Walcot : *Shickle.*
Wales : *Allen, Griffith, John, Lewis, Meyer, Owen, Price, Wherry, Whittaker, Williams. See* "Aberystwyth," "Anglesey," "Bangor," "Breconshire," "Carnarvon," "Denbigh," "Dyfed," "Flintshire," "Hafod Lwyfog," "Montgomery," "Portmadoc."
Wallingford : *Hedges.*
Wall-paintings : *Newman.*
Walworth : *Malden.*
Wansdyke : *Taylor.*
Wardington : *Wood.*
Wargrave : *Climenson.*
Warwickshire : *Bloom. See* "Arden," "Barton-on-the-Heath," "Biringham," "Coventry."
Water-finding : *Mantell.*
Watlington : *Pearman.*
Wavendon : *Bradbrook.*
Welbeck Abbey and Park : *Welbeck Abbey.*
Wells : *Church.*
Wells Cathedral : *Hope Prior.*
Welshmen, re-naming of : *Morris.*
Welsh place-names : *Lloyd.*
Welsh records : *Hall.*
Wem : *Vane.*
Westminster Abbey : *Warren.*
Westmorland : *Thompson, Whitwell. See* "Barton Kirk," "Beetham," "Kendal," "Orton," "Sizergh Fell."
Weston-under-Lizard : *Bridgeman.*
Whalton : *Walker.*
Whitchurch : *Minns.*
White Notley : *Lynam.*
Whorlton : *Fowler.*
Widford : *Gerish, Squires, Weir.*
Willoughby : *Baylay, Fellows.*
Wills : *Brown, Cowper, Kemp, Malden, Phillips, Sherwood, Vane.*
Wilts : *Clark, Thompson. See* "Box," "Burials," "Colerne," "Corsham," "Durrington," "Erlestoke," "Lacock," "South Wraxall."
Windgates : *FitzGerald.*
Winfield manor : *Mitchell-Withers.*
Winterton : *Fowler.*
Witchcraft : *Peacock, Webb, Wherry.*
Witley : *Foster, Guiseppi, Johnston.*
Witney : *Macray.*
Wollaton : *Fellows.*
Woodhorn : *Tomlinson.*
Woodlands House : *Baker.*
Woodstock : *Marshall, Swann.*
Woolwich : *Vincent, Woolwich.*
Worcestershire : *Were.*
Worfield : *Walters.*
Wren, Christopher : *Ordish.*
Wycombe : *Hope.*
Wyldes : *Wilson.*
Wysall : *Standish.*

Yaspen : *Round.*
York : *Benson, Smith, Stephenson.*
Yorkshire : *Dawkins, Fallow, Glynne, Poppleton, Rigby, Saltmarshe, See* "Castle Howard," "Ecclesfield," "Fosse," "Hayton," "Holderness," "Huggate," "Malton," "Methley," "Middlesbrough," "Roche Abbey," "Rotherham," "Saltmarshe," "Sheffield," "York."
Yoruba-land : *Parsons.*
Youghal : *Flood.*
Youlgreave : *Smith.*

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